

*Part 1*  
*Abambo South*  
*South*  
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# History

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# Abambo

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(Fingos)

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By Revs.

John Ayliff

and

Joseph Whiteside





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THE HISTORY OF THE ABAMBO





HISTORY  
OF  
THE ABAMBO  
GENERALLY KNOWN  
AS  
FINGOS

BY THE  
REV. JOHN AYLIFF  
AND THE  
REV. JOSEPH WHITESIDE

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TRANSKEI

PRINTED AT THE "GAZETTE," BUTTERWORTH, FINGOLAND

1912.



## PREFACE.

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When it was known that I had been requested to write a History of the Fingos, Miss S. A. Ayliff, of Grahamstown, placed in my hands a history written at the dictation of her father, the Rev. J. Ayliff, fifty years ago; and from this manuscript, chapters IV, V, VI, and part of VII, have been compiled. For the rest I am responsible; and I am glad to be associated with the honoured name of one who was the life-long friend of this once oppressed but now liberated and prosperous people. I desire to thank Chief Zibi Sidinane, of Mt. Fletcher, and Mr. Richard Tainton Kawa, of Lydenburg, for valuable information; and Mr. I. Bud M'Belle, of Lenge, Kimberley, for many helpful suggestions.

The best thanks of the Fingos are due to Mr. I. Bud-M'Belle, the Organising Secretary, and C. J. Warner, Esq., the Resident Magistrate, Butterworth, who was Hon. Treasurer to the Fingo History Fund.

J. W.





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## I THE ABAMBO

THIS is the story of the Abambo, at one time a numerous and powerful Bantu tribe, living in Natal, and which included many clans, each under a well known chief. They were defeated and diminished by fierce enemies in many battles, one of which continued for five days. The survivors became wanderers, known as Fingos, and they sought refuge with other tribes, by some of which many of them were reduced to a state of servitude. From this bondage they were delivered by Sir Benjamin Durban, Governor of Cape Colony, acting on the advice of the Rev. John Ayliff, Wesleyan Missionary. The Governor not only gave them land within the Colony, but afforded them protection by receiving them as subjects of the British Crown.

The earlier portions of this story have come down to us in the form of narratives told by old men who had good memories. A century ago, the Bantu tribes had no written languages, and consequently no literature. Frequently, the stories differ in important details, and then it is difficult to decide which version is the most probable. No account has been adopted until after careful consideration.

At the commencement of the 19th century, the Abambo occupied, for the most part, the great valley of the Buffalo River which lies immediately below the Drakensberg Range, and the land in which they lived was known as Embo. It is probable that the Abambo had dwelt there for at least 200 years, ever since they had travelled slowly down from central Africa.

The whole tribe numbered about 250,000, so that it was one of the largest in the country. It was decided into clans, each with a distinctive name. The largest

were the Amahlubi (people who tear off), whose chief was Bungane, and they lived in the upper portion of the Buffalo River Valley. The Amazizi (people who bring), whose chief was Dweba, occupied ground near the sombre mountain since famous as Isandhlwana. Other clans were the Amabele (people of mercy), under their chief M'Bele; the Abasa-kunene, (right handed people), the chief of whom was Umjole; the Amakuze with their chief, Unombewu; the Amareledwane under their chief, Ulutshwa; the Ama-Zebezembe (axe benders) and the Abushwayo (people that reproach). There were many smaller clans but the generic name by which they were all known was that of Abambo. The old men, when describing the numbers of the tribe at that time, assert that 'they were as numerous as the blades of grass spreading over the hills and filling the valleys. They literally covered the land.'

These were the ancestors of the Fingos, and this little book is written that you may understand how in many battles they were defeated and scattered, and what sufferings they endured before they enjoyed freedom and safety under British rule.

The Abambo had a very pleasant home in Natal. The country was rich in grass and forest. The rivers ran all the year. Elephants, giraffes and rhinoceroses, roamed over the plain. Hippopotamuses sported in the rivers. There was abundance of smaller game; and the Abambo, like other Bantu tribes were famous hunters; and armed only with their shields and assagais, were known to face and slay the lordly lion.

The Abambo were not unlike the Zulus in appearance, and they are supposed to have had, at a remote date, a common origin. They were tall, well developed, and possessed great muscular strength. They were good natured and indolent, and loved to sit in the sun and talk of the heroic deeds of their warriors, and of the bravery of Bungane, their great chief; but they were subject to outbursts of excitement when their passions were aroused. The times were savage, and the ruling ambition of both chiefs and people was for supremacy and to possess cattle. To be the first in war or in the hunting field was the crowning honour of life.

The Abambo were heathens, because they had never heard the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They had scarcely any religious ideas, and but a very dim perception of a personal God. Rather, the chief article of the creed was that the Under-World was peopled with evil spirits and the spirits of the dead ancestors scarcely less malevolent. To the spirits of the dead were attributed most misfortunes, as sickness in man or beast, droughts and defeat; and consequently they were feared and propitiated by gifts of beef and beer placed near their graves. The wizard or the witch was supposed to have special power over these spirits, and was able to induce them to work evil against any one whom they wished to injure. The Natives therefore wore amulets and charms on their person as a protection; and if the wizard or the witch was discovered, he or she was put to death with the vilest tortures. Dealers in witchcraft were outside all law, and must be cut off from life without mercy.

The life of an Umbo has its times of excitement when war or hunting roused him to exertion; but at other times it was overshadowed by a dread of witchcraft and death. As a child, he was plump, chubby and merry; but ere he reached forty years of age, fear had often carved deep wrinkles on his face almost down to the bone. The women early lost their graceful rounded forms, and as the result of severe toil and hopelessness, their faces became wrinkled like the skin of dried fruit.

The customs of the Abambo were similar to those of other Bantu tribes, so need not be dwelt upon. Youths were introduced to the privileges of manhood by circumcision. Polygamy was allowed. The men hunted, made war, herded the cattle and milked the cows. The women made the huts, fetched wood, hoed the ground, sowed and reaped the corn, and cooked the food. They had the heavier part of manual labour, from which they were not freed until the plough was used in breaking up the soil.

If the Abambo had always been united for purposes of defence, probably they would have held their country against all comers. But between the various clans there were frequent wars and disputes. Thus, the sons



of Ncobo and Radebe, and their followers, engaged in civil war. Both claimed the chieftainship. The strife lasted a long time and many lives were sacrificed. Bungane at last restored order, but the war left the Amahlubi deprived of much of their strength.

At another time the Ama-zizi fought with the Amakuze, who after suffering heavy losses of men and cattle, fled into a forest for safety.

The chief of the Abasa-kunene, Umjoli, took for his wife, Gabela, a woman of the Amabele clan. Shortly afterwards, the Amabele were attacked by the Bacas, but the Abasa-kunene looked on at the defeat of their neighbours, and rendered no help. Gabela was a woman of great courage, whilst her husband was indolent and careless. They separated, and half of the clan followed Gabela, and the other half adhered to Umjoli. Divided, they were easily defeated by other tribes. Then the remnants of the clan were collected together by a remarkable man, Madikana, who was exceedingly tall, and allowed his nails to grow until they were as long as eagle's claws. Madikana and his people, at a certain time, were feasting, when they were attacked by a combined force of the Tembus and Xosas. Madikana was killed, and the few Abasa-kunene who survived fled for refuge to other clans.

Then the Abambo were frequently embroiled with other tribes. When the Amabaca fled before Tshaka's warriors, they fell on the Amabele, but were defeated and their chief, Umtikani, was killed, but not before many lives had been lost. The Amabele retaliated, and attacked the Amabaca at night, killing their new chief, Usinyangwa, in his hut. The following day, the Bacas led by Ncapai, advanced on the Amabele and inflicted upon them heavy losses of life.

In this way, the Abambo were weakened and unable to present a bold front to strong and warlike tribes. Co-operation for mutual protection was not sought. The idea was strange to the savage mind. Frequently, a clan rejoiced over the defeat of a neighbour, not thinking that it might itself be the next to suffer. The time came when this lack of union led to disaster and ruin.

The Abambo had fierce and warlike neighbours, to

meet whom in the battlefield they needed all their united strength. To the east, near the coast, were the Zulus, ruled by Tshaka, a master of war and a cruel despot, who was every year increasing his power by destroying every tribe that stood in the way of his career of conquest. To the north were the fierce and warlike Amangwane, the chief of whom, Matiwana, lived where Wakkerstroom now stands. In the wars between these two powerful tribes, it was scarcely possible for the Abambo to avoid being crushed like grains of wheat between revolving mill stones.

Some of the shrewder men of the Abambo saw the danger, but did not know how to avert it. It is said that Bungane once summoned his people to his Great Place, and said, 'I see that there will come a time when the Abambos will be dispersed, and will come into contact with people who have long flowing hair. These people have a roll in their hands. You must accept the roll.' This announcement is supposed to mean that the Abambo were to be scattered, and that in their wanderings they were to meet the European Missionary. Strange to say, both of these alleged prophecies of Bungane came to pass in due time.

Several tribal traditions relate to the sudden appearance among the Amahlubi, about this period, of a white man, who had long hair, like 'the tress of a mealie cob,' carried a gun, had a white dog, and wore European clothing. He could not speak the Native language, but pointed up to the sky, and to a book which he held in his hand, and had closely folded leaves, like 'the under part of a mushroom.' One variant of the story is that some of the people, suspecting he was a spy, killed him. His death was followed by a terrific whirlwind, which carried off everything belonging to the kraal where he was killed, huts, men, women, children, beasts and fowls, even the grinding stones. Not a trace of them was ever seen again.

Another version is, that the hut in which the white visitor slept was surrounded by Maqubela's people, who placed big bundles of straw round it, and set it on fire. The stranger flew up through the roof of the hut, and, when above the smoke, told them that for their inhu-

manity there would fall upon them a great pestilence, and that they would eat their children for food. Then he vanished into the blue sky. The following year a pestilence fell upon the people which is known as Madlatule's pestilence.

It is possible that a European, shipwrecked on the coast, may have found his way to the Amahlubi; but who he was, where he came from, or what became of him, is hid in obscurity. But it is certain that the disasters which afterwards befel the people are attributed by many to the illtreatment that this visitor received at the hand of a portion of the Hlubi clan. This pestilence left the whole tribe in a weakened condition.

## II

### HOW THE ABAMBO WERE DEFEATED AND DISPERSED.

AFTER the lapse of a hundred years, and with no source of information but vague and conflicting tradition, it is not easy to ascertain why the Abambo were involved in war with their powerful neighbours, the Amangwane.

One statement is that a Zulu woman became a concubine to Mtimkulu, the Hlubi Chief, and having cut off some of his hair, took it to her own people to be employed in ways of witchcraft to secure his death. The Zulus gave the hair to Matiwana, the chief of the Amangwane, who worked it into deadly charms, and relying upon their efficacy, attacked Mtimkulu, when he had only a small body-guard with him, and killed him. Then war was declared with disastrous results.

Another story is, that about the year 1818, Matiwana was attacked by the combined forces of the Mtetwa, the Amatyalala, and the Amavesi. As the issue of the war was uncertain, Matiwana, it is said, asked Mtimkulu, the second chief of the name, if he would take charge of his cattle during the conflict.\* Mtimkulu consented, and the Amangwane herds were handed over to the Amahlubi, who hid them away in the deep gorges of the Drakensberg.

Matiwana was defeated by his foes but not crushed. He made terms with them, promised to pay tribute, and to give his sister, Magenge, in marriage to Dingiswayo. Peace having thus been secured, Matiwana sent to Mtimkulu for the return of his cattle. To his surprise, so the story runs, Mtimkulu refused to surrender them. The indignation of the Amangwane was aroused, and they sharpened their spears for the coming fight.

But this story is emphatically denied by the older Hlubi chiefs, who allege that the story has grown out

\*See 'Fragments of Native History,' by W. C. Scully, in 'The State,' Sept 1909.

of the fact that when Panda, the Zulu chief, was fighting his brother Dingana, Langalibalele took possession of some of his cattle, for which, when the war was over Panda sent an "impi" against him. At this distance of time, it may be difficult to discover the reason why the Amangwane attacked the Abambo, but the question is of little importance. In those days, little or no pretext was needed for making war on a neighbour, especially when there were cattle to be captured.

Matiwana was a short man with a curved back but of herculean strength. He had a savage cruel temper and a genius for war which made him second only to Tshaka as a destroyer of human life. He generally wore a kaross made of the skins of black and white calves. Adopting the Zulu model, he divided his army into regiments, and armed them with the short stabbing assagai.

Knowing the strength of the Amahlubi, Matiwana marched stealthily on Mtimkulu's Great Place with a picked body of warriors, and attacked it in the night. The Hlubi chief had with him only his body-guard, about a hundred men; but they fought bravely against overwhelming odds all the night. When day broke, not one of the defenders was alive. The chief and his body-guard were all killed.

The following day, the Amahlubi held a General Council to consider what should be done to avenge the death of their chief. Mpangazita, the late chief's brother, strenuously advocated that they should at once declare war, as they had always beaten the Amangwane in open fight. Marwanqa, a younger brother, objected, and advised delay. With divided counsels, nothing was done.

Matiwana was not slow to pursue the advantage he had won. He promptly attacked the Amahlubi, who weakened by internal dissensions, were not able to offer any effective resistance, and were routed with great slaughter.

Matiwana then fell on the smaller clans of the Abambo, and almost annihilated them. It is stated that on one occasion, he killed in cold blood, 30 Abambo sub-chiefs,—whose subjects he had previously destroyed,—



that he might drink their gall, which was supposed to be the seat of ferocity in the human body, and the drinking of which, he believed, would make him fiercer and more warlike. The subjects of these murdered sub-chiefs numbered probably no less than 80,000 persons, all killed by the bloody Matiwana.

The Abambo lost the country they had held so long, and it was now occupied by the Amangwane. They also lost all their cattle. They fled, and in fleeing, separated into two sections. The smaller section, led by Zulu Mafu, of the house of Radebe, crossed the River Mkomanzi, and by slow marches, made their way southward, through Pondoland and Tembuland, and finally into Gealekaland. They were accompanied by Mhlambiso (Hlubi), a son of Mtinkulu, Zibi Monakali (Hlubi), Matomela (Rele-dwane) Msutu (Abasa-kunene) Mbilase (Rele-dwane) and Zimema (Rele-dwane).

The larger section consisting chiefly of the Amahlubi, endeavoured to escape from the Amangwane, by crossing the Drakensberg Range into Basutoland. They were still strong enough to form two armies. One body of men was commanded by Marwanqa, as regent during the minority of Langalibalele, the rightful heir. The other force was commanded by Mpangazita.

Basutoland was then but sparsely populated, and Moshesh, who was afterwards to rise to such power, was a young man with but a few followers. The strongest tribe in the country was the Batlokoa, whose chief was Sikonyela, against whom Mpangazita had long cherished a bitter sense of injury, and only awaited an opportunity to avenge it.

The quarrel began in this way. Mpangazita's sister married Motsholi, and the two had a serious dispute, as was not unusual among Natives, over some dowry cattle. Motsholi was afraid, fled over the Drakensberg, and sought refuge with the Batlokoa, who treated him with kindness, and gave him land on which to reside. The Amahlubi were very skilful workers in metals, and Motsholi wore on his neck a necklace which was wrought on the wearer's neck in one piece, and was supposed to possess magical powers. Sikonyela coveted this necklet, and to get possession of it, he killed Motsholi, and cut off his head.

Mpangazita, now that he was in Basutoland determined to avenge Motsholi's death. Making the theft of the necklet his pretext, he attacked Sikonyela and his followers, took all their cattle, and drove them out of the country into what is now the Transvaal.

That accomplished, Mpangazita, and his son, Sidinane, turned their arms against some of the Basuto chiefs, and expelled them into the country later known as the Orange Free State. In the district thus denuded of inhabitants, they settled. Moshesh, knowing he was too weak to resist the intruders, assumed a friendly attitude, and made with them a treaty of peace. Neither tribe was to steal cattle from the other.

Tshaka now took part in the deadly game of war. His aim was to destroy all the tribes adjacent to the Zulus, so that they should be fenced off, as it were, with a belt of uninhabited land. Amongst the first to feel the force of his arms were the Amangwane. Their undoubted military skill and bravery were of no avail against the greater numbers of Zulus and the more skilful generalship of their leaders. The Zulus used to advance on the enemy in a half-moon formation, the horns of which were composed of the young fiery warriors, whilst in the inner portion of the curve the older and more highly trained men were placed. When the horns met the foe was surrounded, and the veterans crushed all before them.

The Amangwane were completely defeated, and they fell back, doggedly fighting, along the doleful line of retreat over the Drakensberg taken by the Amahlubi two years before. They had now to drink of the bitter cup of defeat which they had forced to the lips of the Amahlubi.

When the Amangwane arrived in Basutoland, they once more came in contact with the Amahlubi, and the fierce strife between the two tribes was resumed. Both sides fought with desperate valour. All through Basutoland the deadly fight went on, and the aged, the feeble, and thousands of helpless children, were abandoned on the way, and left to perish of slow starvation. For years, the trail of the conflict was marked by the human bones that lay thick on the ground blanched by the glare of the sun.

At last, on the western side of the Caledon River, a fierce battle was fought which continued for five days. The Amahlubi were almost destroyed. The carnage was appalling. Mpangazita fled, with a few followers, to a mountain fortress, but the Amangwane went in hot pursuit, drove him out and somewhere near Mequatling overtook him and slew him. The Abambo ceased to exist as a tribe and the survivors were scattered far and wide like the fragments of an exploded shell. This complete destruction of a powerful tribe was not an uncommon occurrence in those days of savage warfare. Tshaka himself is said to have completely destroyed forty different tribes, and not less than a million human beings. The land they passed over was left tenantless.

### III

#### THE WANDERINGS OF THE ABAMBO

THE Amahlubi who survived broke up into fragments, and scattered in different directions. It is not easy to follow the paths they took, and the misfortunes which befel each fragment, where tradition alone has to be relied on. The statements are conflicting, but this is approximately what seems to have occurred.

Many of the Amahlubi were taken prisoners by the Amangwane, and held as servants.

A few of the Amahlubi clung to Marwanqa, and their chief desire was to get back to their old home in Natal. After many wanderings, too intricate to be now traced and extending over several years, they returned to their former place of abode, by the Mzinyati, or Buffalo River, at the foot of the Drakensberg. They made their huts in the dense bush, so that they might not be seen by the Zulu impis. But there was little danger. Tshaka has been killed by his brother Dingana, who was now King, and he evidently considered that the few Amahlubi were too feeble to be a menace to his power. So he left them alone. Langalibalele, the son and the heir of Mtimkulu, was by this time of age, and was installed as chief with fitting ceremony. The clan still occupies the western border of Natal, but in the year 1873, Langalibalele got into trouble with the Government by refusing to register the guns he and his people possessed. He was taken prisoner and exiled to Cape Colony, where he died. He was succeeded by his son, Siyepu.

A small section of the Amahlubi adhered to Sidinane, the great son of Mpangazita, and to Mehlomakulu, another son, but by a different wife, who was of perfect form and of great stature. Mehlomakulu was a splendid dancer, and as he danced, he could fling his club up into the air and catch it as it fell. No one could dance so well or fling the club so high, or catch it with such dexterity and grace as Mehlomakulu.

As they were wandering in the direction of the Vet River, they were captured by a Matabele impi, and

taken to the Great Place of Mziligazi, in the Transvaal. The Matabele chief gave orders that Mehlomakulu, whose dancing he wished to see, and his companions were to be accepted as vassals, but Sidinane and his household were to be put to death.

A friendly hint of his peril was given by a Hlubi to Sidinane, before the chief's order could be carried out, and at night he fled with his wife and infant daughter. The child died of cold, and after many wanderings, Sidinane resolved to make submission to Matiwana, and come under his rule. For this purpose, he entered Basutoland. Matiwana knew no mercy, and in response to his appeal, had him strangled, and his body was handed over to the captive Hlubi who buried it at night in a secret place.

Mziligazi soon got tired of seeing Mehlomakulu dance, and then jealous of his fine physique and manly bearing, resolved upon his death. News was brought to Mehlomakulu that a number of men were assembling at the Great Place for the purpose of killing him, and might arrive any day. Not an instant was lost. With what cattle they could collect, Mehlomakulu and his companions fled towards Basutoland, and they went so fast and so far, that some of them became footsore, and they had to rest. On the sixth day of their travels, the Matabele who had been sent in pursuit of the fugitives came in sight. So confident were they of slaying their victims that they shouted as they approached, "The cattle will be ours at milking time."

Among the Matabele were several Hlubis, and as the two opposing forces met, these crossed over to their friends and assisted them to repel the attack. The Matabele were so taken by surprise, that they halted and retired to consider what should be done. Mehlomakulu expected that an attack would be made within a few hours, probably in the night, so with some picked men, he marched forward and occupied a valley through which the Matabele would have to advance. They fell into the ambush and were cut to pieces. The shields flung away by the Matabele in their flight were so many that they were heaped up in a pile and burnt.\*

\*See 'Fragments of Native History,' by W. C. Scully, in 'The State,' Nov. 1909.



Mehlomakulu with his giant stature and great courage made an ideal leader, and from far and near, the wandering Amahlubi flocked to him until he had a considerable following. The Amangwane advanced against them but were driven back. After many wanderings and hardships, Mehlomakulu and Zibi Sidinane, with their adherents, were allowed by Moshesh to settle near to where Ficksburg now stands. In the year 1848, they came under British rule, when the Orange River Sovereignty was proclaimed.

Six years later, the Sovereignty was abandoned by Great Britain and its protection was withdrawn. The Basuto chiefs, who had been defeated by Mpangazita, now sought to be revenged on the Amahlubi living on their borders. Natives have long memories of injury, and will cherish a blood feud for many years. The position of the Amahlubi at Ficksburg became impossible. Just at this time, the Rev. W. Shepstone, a Wesleyan Missionary, visited the district, and saw that a conflict was imminent. He told them that Mhlambiso and his people had had land given them by Government in the Herschel district, and that they had removed from Peddie to their new home. Delighted at the news, Mehlomakulu and Zibi Sidinane, with their followers at once removed to the Herschel District thankful to be once more under British rule. Afterwards, they were joined by portions of the Amabele and Amazizi clans, and they or their descendants, with few exceptions, dwell there to this day.

At a later date, Zibi Sidinane was given ground in Griqualand East as a reward for services in several Native wars, and there he died (1910), a hale old man.

A small number of the fugitive Amahlubi went over the Drakensberg, forded the Orange River, and travelled in the direction of Kaffirland. After many misfortunes, they overtook the sad and dispirited company of the Abambo under Zulu Mafu.

Mhlanga, one of the fugitives, has related some of the sad incidents of the flight, and of the extreme straits to which war and hunger had reduced many of the Natives.

"I was wandering on a path, and a man called upon me to stop. He caught hold of the kaross, but I left it

in his hands, and ran as fast as I could. He was a cannibal, and wanted to kill me. I saw two youths, one was dead, and the living one was eating the flesh of the dead one. I came to a stone wall, behind which were some people cooking and eating. I saw human heads on the ground. I ran for my life.

"I came to some people of Ngogo's, and there I found my father. I thought he had been killed. He and I went on to another village, and here we were again attacked by the Amaugwane, for they still followed us. My father was killed, and I had to flee."

The Abambo, in their travels from Natal, endured untold hardships. Defeated and broken, thousands of men, women, and children, journeyed hundreds of miles, without food, except what they could obtain from wild fruits, and from bulbous roots dug out of the ground. Many of them died on the way, and those who survived became walking skeletons. How many there were is not known, for Natives do not take any census of their numbers. But of the powerful tribe of the Abambo, there were probably not more than 35,000 persons of all ages who survived, and most of them sought refuge with the southern tribes.

Some of the Abambo settled in Tembuland, where they were kindly treated. The country was then thinly inhabited, and their arrival added to the strength of the Tembus. They were valued too for their skill in the use of herbs as medicine for both man and beast. The Tembus gave them all the civil rights they themselves enjoyed.

The greater number pushed on into the country of the Gealekas, south of the Bashee River. The Gealekas possessed abundance of cattle, and being indolent, welcomed the newcomers as they would be useful as cattle herds. The chief, Hintsa, had however a savage temper, and he soon began to treat the Abambo with suspicion and cruelty.

When the fugitives entered lower Kaffirland, they were asked, 'Who are you? What do you want?' They replied, 'Siyam Fenguza,' which means 'We seek service.' 'We are destitute.' 'The word, Amamfengu,' therefore means 'Hungry people in search of work.' This correctly describes their condition when they first

arrived among the Ama-Xosa. Colonists use European names instead of Native ones, and they changed the word, 'Amafengu,' to Fingos, a name by which they have ever since been known to the inhabitants of Cape Colony.

A brief account of the end of Matiwana may fitly close this chapter.

For two years, after the final defeat of the Amahlubi, he remained in Basutoland and then Tshaka seems to have resolved on his destruction. He sent impi after impi under an induna named Dhlaka, and though the Amangwane fought bravely, they were defeated with heavy loss. All their cattle were captured, and to escape from their relentless foe, they left Basutoland, crossed the Orange River, near to the present town of Aliwal and set forth to find a resting place. They marched on until they reached the district of Glen Grey, which they overran, routed the Tembus, and swept off all their cattle. In Native wars, cattle were always the prize aimed at. Then turning to the north-east, they descended into the lovely valley of the Umtata, and decided there to settle. Here should be their home.

The attack on the Tembus had thoroughly alarmed the paramount Tembu chief, Vusani, and his neighbour, Hintsa, the Gcaleka chief. The tales of blood told by the Fingos added greatly to their terror. The two chiefs sent an urgent appeal to the Cape Government for help against the intruders. The name they gave the Amangwane was that of 'Fetcani,' the Kafir word for 'desolators, marauders,' and they described them as fiends in human shape. It is as Fetcani they are known in Colonial History.

The Cape Government sent a force of a thousand British troops and Colonial burghers, under the command of Col. Somerset, and Hintsa and Vusani joined them with about 18,000 native warriors.

The Fetcani, who still numbered not less than 20,000 fighting men, calmly waited the approach of the British force, confident of victory. They were inured to battle and privation and had proved their prowess in many a well-fought battlefield. But they were now to have a new experience. It was their first contact with European soldiers. Years afterwards, a Native who fought

under Matiwana, said, 'The white men came on horses which we had never seen before, and we thought that the rider and the horse were one animal. They did not seize the body as we do, but thundered upon us from afar. The fire of their guns swept hundreds down. Where could we fly to escape? Death reigned everywhere. I fled, and even now I tremble when I think of that day.'

The power of the dreaded Fetcani was shattered at a blow, and they fled in dismay. The Gcalekas and Tembus followed them in swift pursuit, indiscriminately slaying men, women and children, until few were left. The Fetcani were vermin to be destroyed without pity.

A few of the Fetcani hid themselves with the nearest companies of Fingos, and shared their lot. In 1850, the brother of Matiwana was living near Fort Beaufort, and took an important part in the defence of the town when attacked by the Hottentots in the war of the Axe. He pursued a pastoral life, and the old warrior literally exchanged his spear for the spade.

Certain Hlubi chiefs, who had been held as servants by the Amangwane, since the defeat and death of Mpangazita, were now freed and joined their countrymen in Gcalekaland. They were Mangoba, Nondo, Ludadi, Mdletye, and Mkatshane, with their followers.

Matiwana, with but a remnant of his tribe, went back northward. He was now a fugitive instead of a conqueror, and wherever he passed, he and his men were assailed until very few were left. There was no resource but in confusion and despair to seek refuge with Dingana. To do so was indeed to place himself under the lion's paw, but what else could be done? Upon his arrival, Dingana said, 'Where are your people?' Matiwana replied, 'These are all that are left.' A chief who has nothing to bring could expect no pity. Dingana gave the order, and the Amangwane were all killed by twisting their heads. Then the executioners seized Matiwana, and despite his cries and groans, gouged out his eyes, forced pieces of wood up his nostrils into the brain, and ended by twisting his head also. At this horrible spectacle, the assembled Zulus laughed and shouted in derision of his groans, 'It thunders at the place where Dingana dwells.'

#### IV

### MANY ABAMBO TAKE REFUGE WITH AMA-XOSA, AND ARE REDUCED TO A STATE OF SERVITUDE

THE Fingos were generally employed by the indolent Gcalekas as cattle herds, milkers, builders of their huts and cattle kraals, and tillers of their corn lands. The wages they received for their labour was the milk of cows lent them for the purpose. Occasionally, they received an ox hide or a goat skin to make a kaross, with which to cover the body by day, and in which to sleep at night.

One thing the Fingos carefully preserved, their distinctive clan names. They seemed in their deepest poverty to cherish the hope that a time might come when they would again free and possess a country and cattle of their own.

The Fingos took the greatest care of the cows lent them. They gave particular attention to the calves lest any should die; for they knew that in that case they would lose the milk of the mothers. They chose the most retired parts of the country for their huts and cattle kraals, where the grass was abundant, so that under their care the cows gave a liberal supply of milk. The Fingos soon assumed an altered appearance. They became healthy and strong, and in addition to the work they did for the Gcalekas, they were extensive cultivators of the soil and grew corn for their own use.

The Gcalekas, influenced by their chief, Hintsä, gradually became oppressive in their treatment of the Fingos. Not only did they compel them to till the tribal lands, but they took the corn the Fingos had grown for their own support. Sometimes, Gcalekas would go to a Fingo village, compel the people to open their corn pits, and take away whatever quantity of corn they chose. If a Fingo woman or girl took wood or a skin to a trader to sell, and was met by a Gcaleka, the wood or skin was taken from her even if the trader was in the act of buying it.



Whenever a Gcaleka saw a Fingo girl that he admired, he forcibly seized her and carried her off to his hut to be a concubine. On one such occasion, the Fingos, after a sharp fight, rescued the girl, and carried her away to a place of safety. The Fingos could call nothing their own. They were not slaves, because they were not sold from one owner to another. But they were liable to be robbed, reviled, or killed, at the will of a Gcaleka chief. One privilege was accorded them. They were allowed to carry assagais and shields.

The Fingos suffered greatly from the superstitious beliefs of the Gcalekas. If a man or a beast died, a Fingo was often accused of causing the death by witchcraft, and was put to death by extreme torture. The Fingos were also charged with holding nightly intercourse with wolves, and sending them among the Gcaleka cattle; also with sending monkeys and baboons into the Gcaleka gardens to steal mealies (maize), for which offences many of them lost their cattle, and were tortured by the black ant and by hot stones until they died.

Oppression was met by cunning and deception. In order to acquire cattle, the Fingos grew tobacco, and prepared it with great care. They packed it in small rush baskets which they hid in their huts until a favourable opportunity to sell it was found. Under the pretence of visiting a relative living at a distance, where they knew tobacco was in demand, they would form a party and start like so many pedlars carrying small baskets of tobacco on their heads. When they arrived at their journey's end, they bartered the tobacco for cattle.

They placed the cows thus obtained in glens and kloofs where they would not be noticed by the Gcalekas. When the cows were old, they were sold to the trader in exchange for beads, cooking pots, spades and hoes. These articles they did not use, but reserved them for barter with other tribes for cattle, contenting themselves with earthen pots for cooking and brewing native beer, and with wooden impliments for breaking up the soil. Sometimes, they travelled a hundred miles for the purpose of trade. They learnt to be clever at driving

a bargain, and by the traders they were called the Jews of Kafirland.

By this means the Fingos became possessors of great numbers of cattle. In order not to excite the cupidity of the Gcalekas, who would certainly have seized them if they had known their ownership, the Fingos mixed their cattle with the cattle of friendly neighbours, and thus secured their safety.

In the year 1827, the Wesleyans established a Mission amongst the Gcalekas. When the Rev. W. Shaw first visited Hintsä in order to obtain permission to commence the Mission, Hintsä was celebrating his marriage to his eighth wife, and at least a thousand persons were assembled dancing, eating, and drinking. When Hintsä was asked if he were willing to receive a Missionary, he declined to give a reply. 'What do the other chiefs say on the subject,' he asked. 'It is a great business, a very weighty matter.' Months passed away in fruitless negotiations. At length, the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury, who had been appointed to commence the mission became impatient of delay. He and his wife proceeded to Butterworth near to Hintsä's Great Place, prepared to run the risk of the chief's anger. He soon erected a simple wattle and daub church and a manse of similar humble materials. The mission was commenced.

Then Hintsä's hesitancy disappeared. Perhaps he thought that a missionary would be a convenient medium of communication with the Government, and would add to the dignity of his tribe. He took Mr. Shrewsbury under his care, and in native fashion, sent him an ox with the message, 'Here is a cake of bread from the house of Kauta, the great ancestral chief of the Gcalekas. Hintsä adopts you into the same family, and makes the mission the head of the house.'

A resident population settled on the station, desirous of hearing the Word of God. Occasionally, Hintsä entered the church when service was being held, would listen to a few words, and then leave, muttering, 'This word may suit my dogs, the Fingos, but I and my people will not have it.' The result was that the church erected for the Gcalekas was crowded at every service by the Fingos.

A year later, Rev. J. Ayliff was sent to Butterworth to carry on the mission, and from the first his sympathies were drawn to the Fingos. He became not only their pastor and teacher, but he watched over their interests with untiring vigilance, and was largely instrumental in delivering them from their oppressive bondage. The Fingos were deeply grateful, and for nearly a century they have throned the name of Ayliff in their hearts as one of the greatest of their benefactors.

On one occasion, Hintsä saw a Fingo among his immediate attendants, and said, "Kill that dog." Mr. Ayliff interfered and said, "If you must kill a man, kill me." Without a word, Hintsä turned away to his kraal, and the life of the Fingo was spared.

The practice of "Punhla" roused the deepest indignation of the Fingos. Many of their girls were dragged to Hintsä's Great Place, where they were violated by the chief and his councillors. On more than one occasion a stern resistance was offered, and blood was shed. Sometimes, a terrified girl fled to the Mission House at Butterworth, into which she rushed, crying to Mrs. Ayliff to protect her, and creeping under the bed to avoid being seen. The pursuers arrived, and claimed their victim. Mr. Ayliff always asserted his right to protect the fugitive, who was safe so long as she remained on the station. Hintsä, for a time, at least allowed that within the limits of the station, the will of the Missionary should prevail.

The Fingos crowded the little church to the door. In their bondage, they eagerly listened to the News of Salvation for the poorest and most degraded. Their children attended the Day and Sabbath Schools, and acquired the wonderful art of reading from the printed page. This excited the jealousy of Hintsä, who began to view the Missionary with suspicion. One Sabbath, Hintsä entered the church, and saw for the first time the administration of the sacrament of baptism to several Fingos. Hintsä was wrathful, and left saying, 'How dare Ayliff throw water on my dogs. I will make him take it off, and then I will kill him.'

Hintsä resolved to remove the Fingos from the influence of Mr. Ayliff. He issued an order that they

should leave the coast and the neighbourhood of Butterworth, and dwell in the western portion of his country about Tsomo. The Fingos yielded an unwilling consent. The men and boys in charge of the cattle were obliged to leave, but most of the women stayed behind to look after, they said, their huts and their corn lands.

Amongst those who remained behind was a Fingo doctor, Mkloko Umkulu, who was a favourite with Hintsa because of his skill in the use of Native medicines. Mkulu had often attended the services in the Wesleyan Church, and desirous of knowing more of the Word of God, he removed to Butterworth with his family that they might be near to the Missionary

Seeing that the object sought was instruction in the Christian faith, Mr. Ayliff felt he could not object to Umkulu living on the Mission station, but he was certain that trouble would follow. As soon as Hintsa heard what Umkulu had done, he marched for Butterworth with a body of armed men, and on arriving at the Mission house demanded the surrender of the doctor. "Umkulu is my Fingo;" and he swore by Kauta, the strongest oath he could take, that if Umkulu left him, he would shed the blood of every Fingo on the station.

Mr. Ayliff stood alone in the defence of an oppressed people, and for several hours he pleaded with the savage chief for the life of Umkulu. During the discussion, Hintsa made some reference to the cattle the doctor possessed. Seeing a way of escape, Mr. Ayliff requested not only Umkulu, but all the Fingos on the station, to give up their cattle to the chief. This was done, and as Hintsa and his men drove them off, exulting in their captures, they flourished their assagais aloft, and threatened destruction to all Fingos who dared to reside with an Englishman.

## THE WAR OF 1834

IN the year 1834, a young Englishman, named Purcell, had a trading store about fifteen miles from Butterworth. One day, a Gcaleka entered and behaving insolently, Purcell struck him. Hintsu ordered him to pay a fine for the blow, but he refused unless the Gcaleka was also fined for the insolence. This refusal roused the anger of Hintsu and cost Purcell his life.

On a Sabbath morning, in the middle of July, a Native came to Purcell with two horns which he wanted to sell. Purcell was at breakfast, and through the open window, he called out that he did not trade on Sunday. The Gcaleka then said he would leave the horns and come on Monday to trade, and asked Purcell to come out and take them. Purcell went out, was immediately stabbed in the right breast, and dropped down dead. There is reason to believe that this murder was committed at the command of Hintsu.

A Fingo, who had seen the blow struck, went at once to Butterworth, and told Mr. Ayliff that Purcell was lying dead near his house, and that his wife and children were in great distress.

Mr. Ayliff promptly went on horseback to the place, leaving orders for the missionary wagon to follow for the purpose of removing the body, and of bringing the family to the station. The sad procession, guarded by Fingos, arrived at Butterworth at midnight. The next day a coffin was made and the body of Purcell was given Christian burial.

Mr. Ayliff, as was his duty, reported the painful news of the murder of Purcell to the nearest magistrate, the Civil Commissioner of Albany, who resided at Grahamstown. As there was no post in those days with Kafirland, the letter was carried by a Fingo on foot, a distance of a hundred and fifty miles. The correspondence which ensued was lengthy, and every time a Fingo went into the Colony with a letter, he did



it at the risk of his life. Hintsa was told that the Fingoes were the bearers of letters tending to bring war into his country, and to overthrow his power. Hintsa vowed vengeance against Mr. Ayliff and his messengers.

In the midst of this unrest, the war of 1834 broke out. The Gaikas, another clan of the Ama-Xosa, were great cattle plunderers, robbing the border farmers of some of the best of the herds, and when some of the stolen cattle were re-captured by mounted troopers from the Colony, they followed in swift pursuit in order to retake them. When near Fort Beaufort, the Gaikas attacked the troopers with such fury that in self defence they had to fire. Xoxo a Gaika sub-chief, was struck by a buckshot in the forehead. The wound was only skin deep, but Maqoma and Tyali, Gaika chiefs, resolved to make it a pretext for war. The blood of a chief had been shed.

Fifteen thousand armed Kaffirs drawn from the three clans of Hintsa, Maqoma, and Tyali, rushed into the Colony, plundering, and murdering, as far as the Sunday River. Farmers were slain at their own doors, or fled for their lives with nothing but the clothes they wore. Twenty-two farmers were killed, and 450 farm houses were burnt; 100,000 cattle, and 150,000 sheep, were swept off into Kaffirland, most of which were hidden away in the kloofs and mountains of Hintsa's country. In a few days, the results of fourteen years' arduous toil of the British Settlers were utterly lost.

At the commencement of the war, the Fingos held a meeting and passed the following resolutions:

"1. That no Fingo shall in any way take part in the invasion of the Colony.

"2. That as far as possible the Fingos shall defend and protect the English missionaries and traders.

"3. That the Fingos shall be the nightly bearers of letters from Mr. Ayliff to the commander of the British forces, giving him information of the state of Kaffirland."

The traders in Kaffirland were great sufferers in life and property during the war. All the traders in Gaika's country, and some in Ndlambe's country were murdered; but, excepting Purcell, not a trader in Hintsa's country was killed. Each was warned in time by Mr.

Ayliff, through Fingo messengers, and promptly he removed his family to Butterworth, until 54 English traders, with their wives and children were residing on the mission station. For this important service, Mr. Ayliff received at a later date the unanimous thanks of the traders themselves, as well as of the merchants of Grahamstown.

For seven weeks, reports of the most alarming description were brought into Butterworth as to the intentions of Hintsa. "He would have the cows of the Missionary. He would kill the Missionary with his assagai." Groups of Gealekas and Gaikas passed the station daily, driving herds of fine cattle, and thousands of sheep, which they had plundered from the Colonists. As they passed, the drivers shouted. "The soldiers have fled, the farmers have left their farms, the cattle are wandering over the land waiting to be gathered. Come and join us." And when no Fingo joined the plunderers, they were savagely told that vengeance would be taken upon them when the war was over.

The Fingos displayed great calmness and courage. They said, "If our teacher is slain, he will die behind our shields." Only over their dead bodies would his life be taken. They kept Hintsa under constant supervision, and informed Mr. Ayliff of all his movements.

Convinced that it would be impossible to avoid a conflict with Hintsa, Mr. Ayliff sent all the refugee traders and their families to Clarkebury, 45 miles to the north, where the Tembu chief, Vusani was friendly, and with whom they would be safe.

Finding, a few weeks later, that the hostility of the Fingos to Hintsa was increasing in intensity, and fearing that if they rose against their oppressors, neighbouring Kaffir tribes would be prejudiced against Christian missions, he decided to follow the traders to Clarkebury. When he had left, he thought, Hintsa's anger might cool down. When this decision was known, the Fingos begged to be allowed to accompany him. Mr. Ayliff however advised them to remain and wait for the deliverance Providence would send. British troops would certainly enter the country to punish the raiders and to recover the stolen cattle, and

when the Governor arrived, they were to go to him as a nation and cast themselves on his protection.

As the Fingos did not differ in appearance from other natives, and fearing they might be fired upon by the British troops when they advanced, Mr. Ayliff gave to one of the chief men, Mkaluna, a suit of European clothes, and to the rest of the Fingos small pieces of white calico, with instructions that when Sir Benjamin Durban crossed River Kei, they were to go in a body, bearing the pieces of white calico in their hands, direct to the British camp, and ask to be received as British subjects.

Late at night, the manse door was opened, and Nonsa, the great wife of Hintsu, and whom Mrs Ayliff nursed through a dangerous illness, entered, and fearing that some one might be listening to what she had to say, whispered, "Sing some of your hymns." During the singing, Nonsa said, "There is a snake in the grass, and you will not see it until you tread on it. Take warning and go."

The warning was taken. The following night, Mrs Ayliff and her children and several native women, were sent by wagon to Clarkebury, which then returned to carry away the furniture and books of the missionary. Mr. Ayliff rode on horseback, and assisted the Fingo herds to guard the cattle they took with them. They travelled through the night, and arrived at Clarkebury the following day.

When Hintsu heard that Mr. Ayliff had escaped, he came to Butterworth with a number of his men, battered in the windows and doors of the church and the manse, and burnt all the dwellings on the mission station down to the ground.

## VI

### THE FINGOS ARE DELIVERED FROM BONDAGE

THE war began in December, 1834, and it was towards the end of February 1835, that Mr Ayliff and his family escaped from Butterworth to Clarkebury. For two months, the Kaffir raiders had continued their career of plunder with little opposition from the Colonists. The British Settlers were chiefly drawn from quiet English towns, and were unaccustomed to the use of fire arms. The war found them utterly unprepared.

The seat of Government was 800 miles distant, and in those days news travelled at the slow pace of a mule cart. The few troops on the frontier could hold only the forts they garrisoned. Alexandria was burnt. Salem was attacked. Grahamstown was crowded with fugitives. The Kowie forest and the Addo bush swarmed with the enemy. No European life outside the towns was safe.

When the news of the Kaffir invasion reached Capetown, the consternation was intense. Col. (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith rode from Capetown to Grahams-town, 600 miles, in six days, a wonderful feat of horsemanship. He collected burghers from the Eastern Districts, and hurried them to the border. Sir Benjamin Durban followed by sea with British troops that landed at Algoa Bay, and marched overland to the scene of conflict.

The combined forces then advanced on the enemy. Maqoma and Tyali, the Gaika chiefs, were driven out of the jungles of the Fish River, and took refuge in the deep gorges and dense forest of the Amatola. The British troops entered Hintsá's country, and formed camp at Ndabakaza near Butterworth.

By means of Fingo runners, Mr. Ayliff, at Clarkebury, was able to open up communication with Sir Benjamin Durban and to give him a full account of

the state of the country. In one of his letters, he acquainted the Governor with the numbers and the oppressed condition of the Fingos, and their desire to leave Gcalekaland. The reply came that the wishes of the Fingos would be attended to at a suitable time.

After full consideration, Sir Benjamin Durban resolved to liberate the Fingos from the bondage in which they were held by Hintsa; and the motives which prompted him to comply with their request are so amply explained in a Government Notice, No. 14, that it merits being given in full.

Headquarters, Camp on the Ndabakaza.  
May 3rd, 1835.

On the 17th April, the Commander-in-chief encamped with the Division on the Gona River, near to the Wesleyan Mission Station, Butterworth, the ordinary residence of Hintsa before his recent removal to the Upper Kei, for the purpose of carrying on more readily his communications with the frontier chiefs, then in arms against the Colony, with whom he had evidently coalised, and from whom he was receiving a share of the Colonial plunder.

On the 22nd, the Commander-in-chief, who as soon as he had arrived at the Gona, had taken measures to open a communication with the English Missionary, formerly on the Gona, who had fled to Clarkebury to escape the violence and rapine of Hintsa, and having been made aware of the danger of his present position, and of many traders, and of their earnest desire to come away, he detailed a sufficient force to bring them in security to the Camp, in order to their afterwards proceeding to the Colony, their further stay in these countries for the present being utterly useless and perilous to themselves.

On the arrival of the Commander-in-chief, on the Gona, he found in the surrounding country a race of people called Fingos the remnants of tribes which had formerly inhabited a district farther eastward, but which had since been nearly exterminated by Tshaka, the Zulu chief, and having fled into Hintsa's



country, for refuge, they were converted into slaves, and held in the most degrading bondage, the Gealekas exercising the power of life and death over them at will, and without any appeal, and regarding them in little higher estimation than beasts. Hints himself, in a recent conference said that they were his dogs, and expressed his surprise that he should be forbidden to kill them at his pleasure.

Nevertheless, they are represented as an industrious, gentle, and well disposed tribe, good herdsmen, good agriculturalists, and useful servants, withal well armed with shields and assagais, and practised in their use. They are exceedingly well spoken of by all the Missionaries who have lived amongst them, whose ministry they regularly attended, and indeed they had contributed mainly to save the lives and the property of their Missionary, Mr. Ayloff and his family, on a recent occasion, and enabled them to escape to the Bashee.

The eight chiefs, Makalima, Umsumkubela, Makahlila, Jokwina, Makhlabiso, Matomela, Ymsutu, and Tama, of their tribes, had come to the Commander-in-chief, in a body, soon after his arrival on the Gona, and earnestly besought him in the name and on behalf of their people, to receive them under the British protection as subjects to the King of England, and that they might go to the Colony with the troops and be settled in or near it. They added that the oppression of the Kaffirs of Hints was so intolerable, and their apprehension of future danger from them was so great in consequence of the assistance they had afforded to the British Missionaries, that they were determined at any rate to migrate, and seek some other country.

The Commander-in-chief, having well weighed this question in all its bearings, came to the conclusion that a compliance with their entreaty would be at once an act of the greatest beneficence in itself, as effecting the emancipation of 16,000 human beings from the lowest and worst kind of slavery, and in the true spirit of the sweeping emancipation so recently made in the Mother Country, while at the same time

it would obviously assist his measures in the present war, and render ultimately a most important benefit to the Colony. With regard to Hintsa and his people this privation would be but an act of justice, as well on account of the cruel opposition which they have exercised toward the Fingos, as of treachery and ungrateful conduct towards the Colony. He therefore acceded to their wishes, and received them as British subjects, and will bring them back to the Colony, where, if they be settled in the present uninhabited and worse than useless district, between the Fish River and Lower Keiskama, they will soon convert it into a country abounding with cattle and corn, will furnish the best of all bearers against the entrance of the Kaffirs into the Fish River bush, so long a source of mortal apprehension and of injury to the Colony, and will besides afford to the Colonists a supply of excellent hired servants. In the meantime, they are of essential use here as guides and cattle drivers, and moreover well disposed to fight against the Kaffirs.

#### B. D'URBAN.

Sir Benjamin Durban sent from the camp a strong patrol, under Capt. Warden, to Clarkebury, in order to bring away Mr. Ayliff and other Missionaries with their families, and all the English traders and their households, that had taken refuge with Vusani. Altogether, there were 65 Europeans, with their wives and children, 24 Hottentots, and 524 Fingos who had either attached themselves to the Europeans, or had been residing among the Tembus, from whom they parted with sincere regret. The prospect of freedom made them surrender all the advantages they had enjoyed in Tembuland. They joined the Fingos in Hintsa's country, and were prepared to share their hardships.

This numerous company passed safely through Hintsa's Territory, and arrived at the British Camp, where they were received by Sir Benjamin Durban with marked attention. He sent a medical officer to enquire as to their health, supplied them with food from the commissariat stores; and when they had re-

cruited their strength, he sent the Europeans and their households to Grahamstown, where they all arrived in safety. The Rev. J. Ayliff remained in camp, at the request of the Governor, to assist him in carrying out his intentions concerning the Fingos.

In order to punish Hintsä for assisting Maqoma and Tyali in raiding the Colony, and to recover the stolen cattle, Sir Benjamin Durban ordered British troops to make a clean sweep of the country. They were accompanied by 300 armed Fingos, who as they marched sang a war song in which they declared their determination to fight for their freedom. Such was the rapidity of movements of the troops, that Hintsä became alarmed, came into the British Camp, and humbly begged for peace. He was accompanied by his son, Kreli, his brother, Buku, and about fifty followers. Hintsä promised to restore 25,000 head of cattle, and 500 horses, at once, and a similar number of each at the end of the year. He also undertook to order the other chiefs to cease hostilities, and to surrender the murderer of Purcell. He and Buku were to remain in camp as hostages until the terms of peace were carried out.

As soon as Hintsä heard that it was the intention of Sir Benjamin Durban to emancipate his dogs and servants, he sent out orders for a general massacre of the Fingos. In a few hours, many were killed, and thirty-five were found dead within a short distance of the camp.

When the massacre was reported to Sir Benjamin Durban, he immediately ordered Hintsä, Kreli, and Buku, into his presence, and sternly rebuked them for their cruelty to the Fingos. Hintsä coolly replied, "Well, what of it? Cannot I do what I please with my own dogs?"

Sir Benjamin Durban's reply fell on Hintsä's ears like a thunderclap. "You may consider the Fingos as your dogs. I consider they are men, and they have come to me for protection, and protect them I will. If you do not at once stop the carnage. I will most certainly hang you on the tree under which you stand. If the work of destruction continues one hour longer.

for every Fingo murdered, I will hang two of your retinue. If I discover any deceit in your orders that the massacre be stopped, the whole of you shall suffer including Kreli and Buku.

Hintsä was terrified at the wrath he roused, and in a few minutes messengers were running in every direction with orders to stop any further assaults on Fingos. No more lives were sacrificed. The confidence of the Fingos in the power of the Governor to protect them was increased, and they began to prepare for their departure from Hintsä's country.

On May 9th, 1835, the migration commenced. The day broke mistily, with occasional showers of rain, but nothing could lessen the imposing character of the scene. A column, a mile and a half in breadth, and eight miles in length, containing 2,000 men, 5,600 women, 9,200 children, with probably not less than 15,000 cattle, moved slowly forward over the veld. Col. Somerset and a body of burghers, on horseback, led the way. The Rev. J. Ayliff, and his family in a tilted waggon, followed, with the transport waggons, after which came the Fingos. The cattle were driven in small herds of fifty for greater convenience, and each herd was under the care of men armed with assagais and shields. The boys drove the calves and goats. Whilst the women and girls carried the household goods on their heads, and in many cases, the women carried in addition one or even two children on the back. Sometimes, one hand held a calabash containing milk for the children, and the other hand grasped a long staff to assist in the long journey and in wading through the rivers.

There was no finching from weariness and danger. The men and women, the boys and girls, bore the toilsome journey without a complaint. Some of the men assisted by carrying the children on their shoulders, the little things steadying themselves by holding fast to the man's head. Often they wiled away the tedium of the journey by chanting a song, the burden of which was, "Siya Emlungweni," "We are going to the land of the right people."

The first night, the whole of emigrants, with their

cattle, camped on the heights of the River Kei, but there was little sleep for any one. The people huddled up under the bushes to escape the driving rain. The cattle were enclosed by the transport wagons, and made the night hideous with their bellowing. Towards midnight the sky cleared, and the moon came out bright and clear, with a promise of a fine morrow.

At daylight, the crossing of the river commenced. First, came a long line of transport wagons, then followed the numerous herds of cattle and goats, then women and children loaded with mats, baskets, and bags of corn. A veil of mist hung over the river, and each section of the procession, as it descended to the river, disappeared from view and was covered with a white shroud. As the sun rose, the mist lifted, and then the scene was such as not easily to be forgotten. The men and women passed through the river feeling their way with the long staff, the children were carried over, the cattle plunged into the stream from steep rocks, and the goats swam across. The day was nearly gone when the last company went over.

During the crossing, news was brought to Col. Somerset that the Gcalekas were attacking the people in the rear. The Fingos turned and bravely met their foe; and by order of the Colonel, a number of Cape Mounted Riflemen, with a hundred burghers, dashed to the rear. As they flashed past with swords and guns glittering in the sun, Mr Ayliff said, "I could not refrain from cheering them hat in hand, as they passed by the side of my wagon, hasting to the protection of the helpless."

Col. Somerset and his men had been four months in the field and were anxious to get back to their homes. But with fine feeling, the Colonel made the day's march short so that no one might be distressed. Frequently, he halted the whole of the column, and waited until those far in the rear had come up. After resting for an hour, they moved on again.

At the Gonubi River, all fear of an attack from the Gcalekas had vanished, and discipline was relaxed. The men milked the cows, the women made fires and cooked the food, and the children forgetful of past



dangers and heedless of future cares commenced dancing and playing.

On May 14th, 1835, the Fingos crossed the Keiskama into the district of Peddie, the country given them by Sir Benjamin Durban. The following day they arrived at the lands allotted to them.

At a later date, Mr. Ayliff held a mass meeting of all the men at Emqwashwini, half-way between Peddie and Breakfast Vlei, near a large milkwood tree, named Umqwashu. In an impressive address, he reminded them of what Christianity and the Governor had done for them. Then, calling upon each man to lift his right hand, he recited a pledge which they all audibly repeated. As with one voice, they promised to be faithful to God, to be loyal to the British King, and to do all in their power to support their missionaries and educate their children. That milkwood tree still stands a memorial of that day's vow, and of their deliverance from bondage.

## VII

### THE SETTLEMENT

So long as the war lasted, five hundred armed Fingos were in the field, fighting on the side of the British, sweeping the Buffalo River valley clean of the enemy, watching the fords, and intercepting cattle driven from the Colony into Kaffirland. At its close, they joined their countrymen at Peddie. The country which had been allotted the Fingos was without dwelling or inclosure of any kind. It was naked unimproved land. But industrious hands soon altered its desolate appearance.

Sir Benjamin Durban watched over the interests of the Fingos with almost fatherly solicitude. He built a stronghold for their protection, called Fort Peddie, and garrisoned it with British troops; he gave them provisions for their immediate use, and medical comforts for the sick; he appointed a magistrate to see that justice was administered.

The Rev. J. Ayliff had to perform his duties as Missionary with a scanty equipment. He was provided by the Governor with a tent, a camp table, and two camp stools. His yearly stipend, which was very small, was paid by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. But Mr. Ayliff was happy in his work, and loved the people amongst whom he laboured.

Sir Benjamin Durban also appointed a Commission, consisting of Mr. J. M. Bowker, an experienced Colonist, Capt. Halifax, Lieut. Moultrie, and Rev. J. Ayliff, to carry out his instructions as to the boundaries of the country given to the Fingos, the arrangement of the people in clans and families, the healthiness of the locations to be selected, the guarding of the fords of the Fish and Keiskama Rivers, the land to be used

for agriculture, and the obligation of the Fingos to obey the laws. He laid special emphasis on the necessity that the dwellings of the Fingos on the border should be constructed with a view to defence, and should be surrounded with strong stockades, within which their houses and their cattle would be secure at night.

When the work was done, the Commissioners retired and Mr. J. M. Bowker was appointed permanent Magistrate. The Rev. J. Ayliff was assisted by Mr. J. C. Warner, who subsequently became British Resident with the Tembus, and Mr. Cyrus was made interpreter.

The Fingos had been located but a short time at Peddie when it was considered that the security of the frontier would be further promoted by forming another Fingo settlement on the Gaga, near to the present town of Alice. A number of Fingos were therefore sent from Peddie to form a branch settlement.

Many of the Fingos entered the Colony and obtained employment as farm servants, cattle and sheep herds, and some of them acquired a considerable number of live stock, as the result of their thrift. The Fingos had been reared in a hard school, and wastefulness among them was almost unknown. Numbers of them migrated to the frontier towns where they found ready employment, and dwelt in locations placed on the adjoining commonage. They were emerging from a state of barbarism, yet such was their general good conduct that the criminal roll of the several Circuit Courts showed fewer Fingos than of any other class of Natives.

For the first time since they had been driven from Natal, the Fingos enjoyed liberty and security under the protection of British law.

The war of 1834 came to a close with the death of Hintsu who was shot in attempting to escape. Maqoma and Tyali, and the lesser chiefs, came in to meet the Governor and laid down their arms. Sir Benjamin Durban proclaimed the territory between the Fish River and the Kei to be British territory, and called it "The Province of Queen Adelaide;" the capital

town of which was named King Williamstown, in honour of William IV. The conquered Ama-Xosa were located between the Keiskama and the Kei and made subject to British law. Commerce was to be free, except in intoxicating liquors and in materials of war.

These were the wise arrangements of an experienced administrator, and if they had been carried out, the probability is that the later Native wars would have been averted.

The British Secretary of State for the Colonies was, at the time, Lord Glenelg, and with the best intentions he blundered woefully. He had taken a prominent part in the recent emancipation of slaves throughout the British Empire, and in the excitement of that movement he was ready to believe that every black man was a victim of oppression, and every white man a Legree such as is described by Mrs. Stowe in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Acting on private and prejudiced communications, and not on the despatches of Sir Benjamin Durban, he laid the blame of the war on the Colonists, and ordered that the land taken from the Ama-Xosa should be restored to them. They rapidly swarmed back to their old fastnesses in bush and forest, and kept the frontier in terror for years.

Lord Glenelg cherished the fanciful idea that treaties could be made with the principal Native chiefs, as though they were princes of civilised nations, in which they should pledge themselves to abstain from war and cattle stealing. Capt. Andries Stockenstrom was appointed Lieut.-Governor of the Eastern Districts to carry out this policy.

Capt. Stockenstrom, acting on Lord Glenelg's instructions, entered into treaties with Sandile, Maqoma, and Tyali, chiefs of the Ama-Xosa; with Pato, Kama, and Cobus, Amaqunukwebe chiefs; with Siwane, Mhala, and Gasela, chiefs of the Ndlambes; and with Mapasa, the Tembu chief. The treaties were similar. They defined the boundaries of the territory occupied by each tribe, announced that a British Resident would be appointed, through whom all complaints were to be made with the Government. No Native was to leave his country without a pass from

the Resident. But perhaps the most significant clauses in the treaties were the following :—

The said chiefs do also promise and pledge themselves to abstain and cause their tribe to abstain from any way molesting or interfering with the Fingos, but to consider them as under British protection, and in no way to avenge any grievance or dispute which may have heretofore existed between the Kaffirs and Fingos.

The chiefs hereby pledge themselves to use every endeavour, and to cause laws and punishments to be established, for the purpose of preventing encroachments upon the colonial territory.

And the said chiefs do hereby engage to cause stolen property to be recovered, if possible, and the perpetrators punished.

It was soon evident that the Ama-Xosa chiefs had not the least intention of observing the treaty. They refused to observe boundaries. They wandered where they pleased, killing and raiding in broad daylight. A successful raid was always applauded. The treaties were of no more value than the waste paper. Between 1837 and 1846, more than 3500 cattle were looted from the colonists, and nearly a hundred persons were 'reacherously killed.

Nor had they the least intention of abstaining from molesting the Fingos. The land given to the Fingos at Peddie had at one time been in the possession of the Ama-Xosa, and they insolently demanded that it should be handed back to them. When this was not granted, they resorted to armed attacks, and harassed and despoiled their former bondsmen.

Now that the Gcalekas had been allowed to re-occupy the district right up the Fingo border, it was scarcely to be expected that the peace between the two tribes would be preserved. Skirmishes between them were of almost daily occurrence. The Gcalekas asserted that the cattle the Fingos brought from Butterworth belonged to Hintsä. The Fingos retorted that the cattle were their own, and could only be considered as the property



of Hintsa because he claimed everything his people possessed. This dispute led to frequent conflicts.

Then the war had left the Ama-Xosa without food, and they went out in parties to raid cattle, trusting to escape detection, as they did in nine cases out of ten.

At one time, the Gcalekas made a raid on the Fingos and carried off about a hundred cattle. This was reported to Capt. Stockenstrom, but he made no effort to recover them. His chief aim seemed to be to represent to the British Government that everything was peaceful on the border.

On another occasion, Siyolo, a Gaika chief, invaded Fingo territory with a body of armed men in order to capture cattle. The Fingos ran for their weapons, and prepared to resist the invaders. Mr. Bowker hastened to the spot, but his remonstrances were treated with contempt. A fight ensued, Mhlambiso was stabbed in the side, and would have been killed, if Mr. Cyrus had not carried him off on his own horse. The Fingos were plundered of 1200 head of cattle, but 800 were saved by driving them under the guns of the fort. Ten Fingos were killed, and eleven were wounded. Very few of the plundered cattle were recovered.

The Fingos at the Gaga were attacked by Matwa, a son of Gaika; and, being defeated, were given by Capt. Stockenstrom a location at Tsitzakama, 200 miles within the Colony. There they became greatly impoverished, and most of them took service with farmers. Those who did not joined their friends at Peddie.

And so the spoliation of the Fingos went on with little interference from the Government. But the situation deepened into a farce, when Capt. Stockenstrom entered into a treaty with Mhlambiso and Njokweni, Fingo Chiefs, residing in the raided district, in which they were required to give the following pledge:—

“The contracting chiefs do promise to abstain, and cause their tribe to abstain, from any molesting or interfering with the Kaffirs, but to remain at peace with them, and in no way to avenge any grievance or dispute, which may heretofore have existed between the Kaffirs and Fingos.”

The sheep were called upon to keep the peace with the wolves that were constantly plundering cattle and killing the owners.

The policy of Lord Glenelg was misinterpreted by the Kaffirs it was supposed to benefit. The Gcalekas said that Col-Somerset had been tried at Fort Wiltshire for shooting Hintsa, and being found guilty had been dismissed the army. Among themselves, they scornfully said, "None but fools would have treated a conquered people as the English have treated us in giving us back our land."

The loyalty of the Fingos was put to a severe strain. "If the Province is abandoned," said one, "and Col. Smith is removed, it will be the signal not of our ruin but of our death. It will be death to us and our children."

At last, the policy was abandoned, Capt. Stockenström was removed, and his office was abolished.

In 1844, Sir Peregrine Maitland was sent from England to be Governor, and soon after his arrival, he proceeded to redress, if possible, the grievances that were so keenly felt on the border. He drew up a new treaty with Fingo Chiefs, in which he handed over to them and their heirs, in perpetuity, the ceded territory they occupied. He also gave them the following pledge of protection :

"The Governor engages to defend the contracting chiefs, in their respective territories, against any enemy who shall attack or make war upon them, provided such attack or war has not been occasioned by any aggression, or any other act of injustice on the part of the contracting chiefs, or by their having neglected or declined the mediation of the Colonial Government."

The contracting chiefs were Njokweni (Zizi), Mabandla (Bele), Nkwenkwezi (Bele), Matomela (Reledwane), Kaulela (Imbutu), Mpahla (Ukunene), and Jama (Kuze), all residing in the Peddie district; and the sum of £100 a year was to be paid to them so long as they observed the terms of the treaty.

Perhaps the treaty was not of much value. The complaints of those who lived on the border were but faintly heard at Capetown, and the hand of protection was apt to become weak six hundred miles from the centre of authority. The Fingos had not suffered more than the border farmers from the raids of the Ama-Xosa who since they had been allowed to return to their old haunts, had kept the frontier in constant unrest. But it was at last recognised by the Government that the Fingos as well as the Colonists were British subjects, and as such entitled to protection. Within twelve months of the signing of the treaty, the Ama-Xosa again plunged into war with the Colony, and then Colonists and Fingos fought side by side in defence of common interests and in avenging common wrongs.

## VIII

### THE WAR OF THE AXE, 1846.

IN the year 1846, Tsili, a man of Sandile's clan, was arrested at Fort Beaufort for stealing an axe, and manacled to another prisoner, a Hottentot, was sent to Grahamstown for trial. On the journey, the guard and the prisoners rested at Dan's Hoogte, on the Kat River, when they were attacked by about forty Gaikas and overpowered. The Hottentot was killed in order to release Tsili. Sir Peregrine Maitland demanded the surrender of the murderers, and when the demand was refused, he sent Col. Hare, with troops to arrest them. He found Sandile's kraal deserted. At Burnshill, near Alice, as his forces were passing through a narrow pass, a host of Gaikas rushed down, fired on the troops, and captured 61 wagons and 900 oxen.

Flushed with success, the Ama-Xosa rushed into the Colony, and repeated the tragedy of 1834-5, burning homesteads, and capturing cattle and sheep. Happily, few lives were lost, as there had been time for warning, and most of the farmers and their families escaped to laagers or camps and to towns.

The Fingos now had an opportunity of showing their loyalty to the British Government. They readily responded to the call to arms, and were enrolled in companies of a hundred men, commanded by field captains who were generally colonial farmers speaking the Xosa language.

Those who took part in the war were the chiefs Jama Njokweni, Mabandla, Nkwenkwezi, Matomela, Kaulela, Mpahla, and their men, from the Peddie district they were not paid anything by the British Government for their services, as they were considered to be fighting in return for the land which had been given them and for other land to be allotted them at the close of the war.

Grahamstown was in great danger. It was said that one body of the Ama-Xosa intended to occupy the dense Addo Bush and cut off supplies coming up from Port Elizabeth, whilst another body was to hide in the dense jungles of the Fish River, from which at a given signal they were suddenly to rush down on the town in the night, set the houses on fire, kill all whom they could, and by dawn be back again in their hiding places. The scheme displayed not a little military skill.

To the Fingos was committed the defence of Grahamstown by night, whilst the European guarded it by day. An attack at night was most dreaded. The Fingos undertook the harassing and exposed duty of night pickets around the town to a distance of two miles. On the approach of an enemy they were to fire guns and throw up blue lights. This would give the inhabitants time to repair to their places of defence. Double lines of pickets were drawn all round the town, and the sleepless vigilance of the Fingo guards did much to deter the Ama-Xosa from their intended assault on the city. Grahamstown was safe.

Early in the war, a few Fingo men and women and children fell into the hands of Pato, a Kaffir chief, who burned them all to death.

On April 30th, 1846, a thousand Kaffirs attacked the Fingos, at the Beka mission station, four miles from Peddie. A runner was sent to Peddie for help, and two hours after his arrival, Lieut. Col. Richardson, with a squadron of dragoons, some Cape Mounted Riflemen, fifty men of the 91st, with two guns, rode leisurely to the place of conflict. On arriving at Beka, the Fingos were found to be keeping their assailants at bay. After firing a few shots from the field guns, Lieut.-Col. Richardson and his men returned to the Fort and left the Fingos to their fate. The Lieut.-Col. said his horses were jaded, that the ground was not adapted for a charge of dragoons, and that he retreated in order to draw the Kaffirs after him. It is very rarely that such a lamentable failure of duty has to be recorded of a British soldier. The mission station was set on fire, but the Fingos succeeded in beating off the attacks of the Ama-Xosa. The retreat of the troops, however,



encouraged the enemy to believe that they were more than a match for drilled soldiers.

Pato, at the head of 9000 warriors, made a determined attack on Fort Peddie, under the walls of which the Fingos had collected. The Gcalekas were eager to revenge themselves on their former slaves. As they advanced, they extended their line until it was two miles long. They were met with shells and rockets, which did terrible execution, and shattered their formation. The firing of the guns frightened the Fingo cattle and they bolted. Unable to resist the temptation, the Kaffirs left off fighting, and went in pursuit of the cattle, followed by the furious Fingos and a troop of the 7th Dragoons, who overtaking the foe in an open place rode through them again and again until nearly a thousand were killed. A considerable number of the cattle were recovered.

In the pursuit, Ndakabi, the heir of Njokweni, and Matomela, distinguished themselves for their bravery. Mdingi, a Zizi chief, was killed in the pursuit, but the flower of Pato's army was almost annihilated.

Oliphant's Hoek and the adjacent forest swarmed with the enemy; and when British troops were sent to clear them out, they were accompanied by a hundred armed Fingos. The expedition was successful, and on its return, Capt. Hogge spoke highly of the services the Fingos had rendered. "I never saw such active men in the bush. They were like a pack of hounds when in pursuit of the enemy." They were armed with muskets in the use of which they had been hastily drilled, but no clothes had been issued to them. They fought in kaross and blanket.

Bathurst was surrounded, and it was highly important that the position and numbers of the foe should be ascertained before an attack upon them was made. Fingo scouts were sent out, who penetrated the Kowie forest, and approached so near to the Kaffir encampment that they could hear what was said. After counting the number of fires, the scouts returned to Grahamstown, within twelve hours of leaving, and reported to Col. Johnstone, the commander, that the Kaffirs were between McKluekie's farm and Bathurst, and that at

night they had more than a hundred fires. Col. Somerset immediately marched his troops to the spot, attached the Kaffirs, and drove them off with heavy loss.

The Fingos rendered important service in assisting to expel the dauntless chief, Mhala, from his strongholds in the Fish River jungles.

They also did escort duty to the various military outposts on or about the Fish River, and conveyed cattle and provisions for the sustenance of the garrisons, and in no instance did they lose or abandon an animal on the road. Their assistance in this kind of work relieved the troops of much harrassing duty.

Altogether, at Grahamstown, Fort Brown, Farmerfield, and Fort Peddie, at least 1200 Fingos were in the field assisting British troops and the Colonists, and during the war not one deserted to the enemy, but 60 were killed in action.

The conflict struggled on for a year, and then the rebel chiefs sued for peace. A drought had left them without corn. Maqoma came into the British camp and begged for food. Sandile followed and was sent a prisoner to Grahamstown. Kreli submitted. Last of all Pato, haggard and thin, surrendered, saying, "I have been living among the monkeys. I am no longer a man but a baboon." Then peace was once more made.

The upper portion of the country lying between the Fish River and the Keiskama was annexed to the Colony and named Victoria East, with Alice as the place of the resident magistrate. Large tracts of fertile land in this division were set apart for the Fingos who had assisted the Government during the war. Their presence would be in some degree a protection to the colonists if war again broke out.

A considerable extent of land was allotted to the Fingos in the district of Fort Beaufort. As soon as this was known there was a general exodus of Fingos from all parts of the frontier. Fingo families, that had been in the service of farmers since 1836, moved into the new settlement. Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, directed that each family should pay a tax of £1 a year, but promised that the tax so levied should be devoted to paying the salary of a civil super-

intendent and in providing schools and teachers for the education of their children.

The twelve years that had been elapsed since the liberation of the Fingos had been years of progress. One who knew them well at the time of wrote :

“The Fingos in 1834 were ignorant and superstitious. The sin of infanticide was not unfrequent. They left their aged to perish when they became a burden, and they burnt to death those suspected of witchcraft.

But ten years instruction have shown that they are capable of great advances. Hundreds of them to-day (1846) can read. Many can write well. Not a few displayed in examinations a surprising knowledge of the truths of the Christian religion, and are engaged in instructing others of their own people. This is the result of Missionary labours, for the Government has not as yet done anything in this direction.

Fourteen years ago, the Fingos had been accustomed to dig Hintsas's gardens with a piece of sneezewood sharpened at the end. One of these, after he became converted, threw away his sneezewood spade, purchased English garden implements, wagon and oxen, and is now an unpaid Native lay preacher. Last year he sent one of his sons to Farmerfield to be educated. The Fingos began to cultivate wheat, while in their gardens they grew many of the vegetables we consume.

Many of them possess wagons and oxen with which they carry produce to the towns for sale. Not a few are well dressed in European clothes, and can sign their names in full to a way bill.”

Some of the magistrates took a deep interest in the Fingos and encouraged them in many ways to adopt civilised habits. In 1848, Mr. H. Calderwood, Civil Commissioner for Victoria East, offered money prizes for the most respectably and decently dressed Fingo man and woman throughout the year.

The Fingos kept up their loyalty to their chiefs. It did not matter that the chief might be poor. He was

born a chief, and his chieftainship never left him. In some cases, the chief was a farm servant, yet at night after the duties of the day were ended, the chief would be visited and consulted, and his directions would be obeyed. Each Fingo called himself by his clan name

## IX

### THE WAR OF UMLANJENI, 1851-3.

ONCE more Sandile, Kreli and Pato resolved to measure their strength with the British Government. Their authority was declining, and land they had occupied for years had been taken from them as a punishment for their late rebellion. The possession of a number of old muskets gave them the hope that they could fight the Europeans with their own weapons. Little did they consider that in unpractised hands a musket was far less deadly than an assagai.

Sandile opened the war by attacking and defeating a British column in the Bomah Pass on Christmas Eve, 1850. The following day, the Gcalekas destroyed the military villages planted by Sir Harry Smith in the Tyumi River valley, as a defence to the frontier. The Tembus openly joined the rebels. The Hottentots deserted to the enemy. The border districts were again overrun by bodies of armed men. The town of Alice was attacked. Cradock was threatened. Fort Beaufort was besieged. The country as far as Sunday River was deserted. There was no pitched battle. It was a huge bush fight, and the foe, when driven out of one stronghold fled to another. For two years the war dragged on. The British Government became impatient, sent out Sir George Cathcart to supersede Sir Harry Smith; and after taking command, he ordered an advance of all the forces in the field. From hill to hill, and from kloof to kloof, the Ama-Xosa were forced back until in despair they fled across the River Kei, into a bare woodless country where bush fighting was impossible.

This is not a history of the conflict, and allusions will be made only to those incidents in which the Fingos took part. Throughout the whole war, they rendered valuable assistance to the British troops, and the



Colonists, who undoubtedly, bore the heavier part of the strife. But at one time, fully 4,000 Fingos were in the field, fighting in defence of the lives of the Colonists, and of their own country.

Forts Cox and White were surrounded by the Ama-Xosa, and were insufficiently supplied with provisions. Unless help speedily came, the garrisons would be starved to surrender. Col. Mackinnon, with a few soldiers, and 300 Fingos, conveyed supplies through to the besiegers, and beat off their attacks.

The Hottentots, under their leader, Hermanus Matroos, attacked Fort Beaufort, and as many of them were trained marksmen, their musket fire was deadly, and many of the inhabitants were killed. By a flanking movement, in which the Fingos took an active part, the Hottentots were defeated, and Hermanus was shot dead. The Hottentots fled, and carried off with them a large number of cattle and sheep. The Fingos, under April Ndlazi and Zazela, Zizi chiefs, Nobanda, a Bele chief, Mlanda, of the Maduna clan, and Ntsimango, a Ngwane chief, followed in swift pursuit for 8 miles, fighting them as they went. They recovered 1200 head of cattle and 500 sheep, besides horses, among which was Hermanus' favourite piebald steed. For this exploit they received the warm praise of Sir Harry Smith, in a proclamation, dated June 10th, 1851:

"I hereby declare my satisfaction and perfect faith in the loyalty of the Fingos who did so gallantly aid in the defence of Fort Beaufort, and afterwards in the pursuit of the rebels, and they shall ever receive the protection of Her Majesty's Government."

H. SMITH.

After the death of Hermanus, William Uithalder became the leader of the Hottentots. He was a dandy in dress, and was accustomed to ride on horseback wearing black gloves and a white hat. He and the Hottentots assisted by some of the Ama-Xosa, repeatedly attacked the village of Whittlesea, 20 miles from Queenstown but were as often repulsed. The place was completely surrounded, and the beleagured inhabitants had reach-

ed their last charge of powder, and the death of every one seemed imminent, when Zimema, a Reledwane chief, and his son, Zulu, with a number of Fingos, fell on the besiegers with such vigour, that they fled leaving many of their number dead and wounded on the field. A few days afterwards, Zimema was unfortunately killed by the Ama-Xosa whilst endeavouring to recover from them some cattle they had seized near Whittlesea.

Referring to the valuable assistance thus given, Mr. T. H. Bowker wrote, "The Fingos joined the defenders of Whittlesea, and the weakest and most exposed place on the frontier became the strongest and most useful, and this at a time when the Government was paralysed by the defection of the Cape Corps and the rebellion of the Hottentots."

The Amahlubi in the Herschel district were called out, and placed under the command of Mr. James Ayliff, and the followers of Mhlambiso and Zibi Sidinane were engaged during the whole war. Uniting with the Fingos under Mbandla and Delana, they assisted the British troops in driving Sandile out of his fastnesses in the Amatola Mountains.

The Fingos of the clan of Njokweni and Matomela, at Peddie were sent out under the command of Mr. Richard Tainton, and they helped to rout the old warrior, Maqoma, out of his strongholds in the Waterkloof. For three days and three nights they were ceaselessly on the watch, lest he should double back to his old haunts.

The Fingos fought bravely in the defence of Alice, where six of their number were killed and ten wounded.

Attempts were made to detach the Fingos still in the Transkei from the English, but they were under the control of Missionaries who carefully abstained from politics, and they remained faithful to the Government. Their position, however, became increasingly difficult. The fact that the Fingos in other districts were fighting on the English side roused against them the bitterest feelings among the Kaffirs, so that they were glad to leave the clans with which they had resided. At the close of the war, a military column left Butterworth,

and brought out 7000 Fingos, with their pastor, the Rev. F. Gladwin, and 15,000 head of cattle. Land was allotted them in the valleys of the Tyumie and Upper Keiskama Rivers, and there they found a peaceful home.

Sir George Cathcart gave the Fingos, who had increased in numbers, additional land in the district of Queenstown and King Williamstown. He contemplated forming the able-bodied men into a military force similar to that of the Sepoys in India. He wrote :

The Fingos probably number 7000 men, capable of bearing arms. These people during the late war did good and gallant service against the Kaffirs to whom they are quite equal as warriors in every respect."

A portion of the press did not hesitate to say that the war had proved Missions were a failure, but the tribes which waged war were heathen, whilst 4000 Natives, chiefly Fingos, who bore arms in defence of the Colony, were drawn mostly from the various Mission stations. One writer, in reply to the aspersions of the newspapers, asserted that not one Christian convert had fought against the Colony. This may not be absolutely correct, because a few of the converts were drawn into the conflict by threats of the loss of life and cattle. But it is certain that the Christian Fingos were throughout the war loyal and brave and rendered valuable aid to the Colony.

## SIR GEORGE GREY AND THE FINGOS

DEEP wounds leave scars, and three costly wars within eighteen years left in the minds of the Colonists, and in the Government, a deep distrust of the Native. A policy of restriction was adopted, which was embodied in numerous acts proclaimed between the years 1857 and 1867. No Gcaleka, Gaika, Tembu, or other "Native foreigner," was to enter the Colony without a pass, signed by some officer or functionary appointed by the Government. The pass had to contain a description of the holder of it, and the time he was allowed to remain in the Colony. Any Native found in the Colony without such a pass was liable to arrest, and fine or imprisonment.

The Fingos, because they were inhabitants of the Colony, and subjects of the Queen, were not required to have passes; but "Certificates of Citizenship" were granted to them, and these served the purpose of passes, and had to be shewn when the possessor of one was required to do so by any authorised person.

Passports are relics of the barbarous age, when a foreigner was suspected of being a possible enemy, and they disappear when nations understand each other. These passes in a similar manner fell into disuse when confidence between white and black races was gained.

To Sir George Grey belongs the honour of introducing into Cape Colony a policy which was to turn the Kaffir from being a foe into a useful citizen. He was Governor of Cape Colony from 1854 to 1861. He saw that the sources of Native unrest were lack of employment, ignorance, and superstition. To supply work, he planned roads and other public works, on which unskilled Natives could be employed. To destroy superstition, he encouraged the extension of Christian Missions,

whilst the special danger of the witch doctor was met by the proposal to establish hospitals at various places. To combat ignorance, he assisted day schools, and resolved to start industrial institutions at chosen centres, in which Native youths could be trained as carpenters, shoemakers, and wagon makers, besides receiving an elementary education.

Sir George Grey gave £4000 from Government funds to Lovedale, the famous Presbyterian Institution, for industrial training; but he was alive to the necessity that other institutions of a similar nature were urgently required elsewhere.

In 1854, while visiting the various Native tribes on the frontier, Sir George Grey visited Healdtown, where a large number of Fingos resided.

The year before, as they were without church or school, the Wesleyan Conference appointed the Rev. J. Ayliff to commence a mission among them. At first, he lived in a small cottage standing at the side of stream. He built a church, in the vestry of which he trained the first Fingo evangelists, the names of whom were James Mjila, Samuel Mtinkulu, James Sakuba, Mayakesa Sikumbela, and Klaas Bungane, names that take us back to the earlier chiefs of the Abambo.

When Sir George Grey arrived at Healdtown, he saw at a glance, its suitability for an industrial school.

From Fort Beaufort extended a wooded glen, five miles long, terminating in a rocky precipice which forms the buttress of a plateau, across which flows a gentle mountain stream. This open place was the site chosen by Sir George Grey for the Industrial Institution. The soil was rich, and wood, water, and grass, were abundant. He himself saw a rough plan of the structure, and gave £3000 out of Imperial Funds towards the cost. He commissioned the Rev. J. Ayliff to superintend the erection of the buildings, which were to include a schoolroom, workshops, accommodation for boarders, a church and a manse. A flour mill was built at a later date.

How busily Mr. Ayliff was occupied at this time appears from a letter he wrote to the Missionary Committee, in London. "My present employment is the



supervision of the building of the Industrial Institution to cost about £4000, with 120 children in the day school, 70 boys and girls to board and clothe, the care of a church of 300 members, and to minister to the souls of 1000 Fingos." Mr. Ayliff was then 60 years of age, and he added, "My strength and spirits are not what they used to be." His life had indeed been a strenuous one.

The new institution buildings were finished and opened on May 26th, 1857. They had a frontage of 213 feet, with two wings running back 90 feet. The roof was covered with slates. There were two large halls, two extensive dormitories, and workshops for the teaching of the several crafts.

The opening was made a grand gala day. Many thousands of persons were present. The Natives have a genius for feasts, and the Fingo chiefs and people provided a banquet at which 4 fat oxen, and 6 cows, 3 calves, 42 sheep, 120 goats, besides numberless turkeys, formed the fare. Several bags of meal were made into bread and buns. The Rev. W. C. Holden preached the inaugural sermon. The Natives present, including Kaffir chiefs from the Transkei, as they saw the buildings, and understood the purpose to which they were to be devoted, one and all said, "This is the greatest boon conferred upon us by the Government."

A few months later in the year, Sir George came to inspect the completed work. In allusion to some unfriendly criticism, he smilingly said, "Well, gentlemen, these castles in the air are assuming a very solid appearance. I am very pleased with the Institution."

A small fee was charged for board and education, and its payment trained the Natives in independence and self-reliance. Girls were admitted as well as boys, but they were lodged in the village with friends. The arrangement was not satisfactory, and at a later date, when the Rev. R. Hornabrook was Governor, a large boarding house for girls was erected. The aim was to equip both girls and boys for civilised life.

When in 1859, Sir George Grey left for England, the Fingo Chiefs at Healdtown sent him an address in which

they thanked him for all he had done for them. They recounted the oppression they had suffered under Hintsá, from which they had been delivered by Sir Benjamin Durban, who had given them a home at Peddie. They recorded the kindness of Sir George Cathcart, who had given them the country round Healdtown. Now Sir George Grey had built them a great house for their children, and placed them under the care of their old minister, Mr. Ayloff. The address closed with the words, "We will continue to keep your laws, we will continue to obey the authorities of the land. We will continue to love and pray for you and your family."

The address was signed by

Zazela, chief of the Amazizi

Piet April                   "           "

Ndlazi                       "           "

Revenga,                   "           "

Nobanda, chief of the Amabele.

Umguza, chief of the Amahusha.

Bangeni, chief of the Healdtown.

Katengana, chief of the Amahlubi

Nqenqa, chief of the Amakweni.

Kondlo, chief of the Amangwane.

Selingá, chief of the Amasingwa wudi.

To this address Sir G. Grey sent the following reply :  
 "I am very thankful to God that he has permitted me to do good to your race. If you continue grateful for what I have done, let your gratitude be seen by your largely availing yourselves of the opportunities you have of educating your children. Give me the reward that your children should be brought up as virtuous and industrious Christians.

G. GREY.

After the departure of Sir George Grey, the Government withdrew the grants from the labour schools, and Healdtown was shorn of its industrial departments. This was a distinct loss to the Fingos. It became for a time an ordinary day school, and a Theological Institution for the training of Native Ministers. It was afterwards transformed into a Training Institution for Native teachers.

Many honourable names are connected with Healdtown. The most honoured is that of Ayliff, whose sons rose to eminence. One was Attorney-General, and another was Secretary for Native Affairs. A third was a judge in Natal. Another Governor was the Rev. Gottlieb Schreiner, father of the Hon. W. P. Schreiner, at one time, Premier of Cape Colony, and now a Senator representing Native Interests, and of Miss Olive Schreiner, authoress of "The story of a South African Farm." Other Governors and Tutors were the Revs. W. Impey, G. Chapman, R. Lamplough, T. Chubb, and R. F. Hornabrook. Amongst the teachers shine the names of Birkett, Rose, Baker, Lightfoot, Spensley, Masiza, Kakaza, Mtembu, Mtobi and Mali.

From its inception, Healdtown was a Christian institution, and whether primary, or higher, or industrial education was given, the chief aim was to make it instrumental in promoting Christian truth and Christian morals among the Fingos. Many of the pupils became ministers and teachers, and did excellent service not only among their own people but among the other Native tribes of South Africa.

I. Bud 'Mbelle, one of the Healdtown students, said at the Jubilee of the Institution (1906), "It was here that many of us were taught cleanliness, godliness, discipline, and industry. It was here we received higher ideals of life than we had. It was here that we were taught that our superstitions and some of our objectionable and horrible customs were scattered to the winds. It was here that we were taught that man, irrespective of nationality, is our brother, that Christ is our Redeemer, and that God is our Father."

The Institution Buildings became too small for the number of students that flocked to Healdtown, and during the Governorship of the Rev. R. Hornabrook, in 1895, they were very much enlarged. In 1897, the fine boarding house for girls was built. In 1905 the old practising school was pulled down and replaced by a large training hall and commodious class rooms, known as "Jubilee Buildings." In the year 1909, the Institution had 15 teachers, 224 boarders, and 267 day scholars, and the Natives paid £2675 19s. 7d. in fees.

In an indirect way, Sir George Grey contributed to the establishment of another important Training College. He assisted Lovedale to develop its Industrial Department, and out of Lovedale grew Blythswood.

Many of the Fingos, who had been at Lovedale for their education, in after years, when they were fathers and mothers, desired that a similar institution should be established in Fingoland, so that their children might have an industrial training without going so far for it as Lovedale.

In 1873, they sent a request to Dr. Stewart that he should help them to realise their idea. The Doctor was very busy at the time, and he did not see how the cost of the building was to be met; but he wrote back saying, that if the Fingos would raise £1000, he would make an effort to assist them.

Five months later, he received a message from the Fingos, "Come up; the money is ready." Dr. Stewart then visited Fingoland, and a huge open-air meeting was held near Nqamakwe, at which 4000 Fingos were present. On a table standing on the grass, lay a heap of silver, which when counted was found to amount to £1450. This liberality was extraordinary coming as it did from a people most of whom were poor. A Native speaker, pointing to the heap of silver, said, "There are the stones. Arise and build."

Dr Stewart was delighted with the results of the meeting, and drove off to King Williamstown with the big bag of silver tied behind his buggy. The building was commenced on a site about 12 miles west of Butterworth. During its erection, some of the Fingos said it ought to be larger, and wrote to Dr. Stewart to that effect. "Very well," replied the Doctor, "If you want it larger, have another subscription."

Another meeting was held, more speeches were delivered, and a further sum of £1500, in silver, was placed on the table.

Dr. Stewart, whilst on a visit to Scotland, collected another £1500 from Scottish friends towards the same object.

When the Institution was completed in July, 1877, it was called Blythswood, in honour of the Magistrate

who had done so much to encourage the Fingos in their undertaking. At the opening, about 4000 Fingos were present, and a large number of Europeans. An inaugural service was held, followed by addresses from the Fingo men, and even the Fingo women were not silent.

The function was accompanied by a right royal feast, in Native style, and 12 sheep, 12 goats, 20 oxen, were eaten, besides an enormous supply of maize and bread.

The Rev. R. W. Barber, who was present at the meeting, has given a graphic account of its proceeding "The great hall was crammed. Most of those present were headmen. Each stepped up, one after another, with a grave dignified mein, and slowly undoing his purse or handkerchief, took from it the half-crowns or gold pieces it held, and laid them on the table. The procession was kept up for 4 hours."

Capt. Blyth spoke in brief pithy sentences, which were turned into Kaffir by the Rev. Ross. Dr. Stewart followed, and in short nervous phrases, that throbbed at times with deep feeling, spoke of the importance of missions and education among the Natives.

When the meeting was over, Dr. Stewart walked out of the hall, staggering with the huge bag of silver, containing £1100, which he carried in his arms. As he and his friend drove up the hill on their way home a number of Fingos, on horseback, would thunder past, and wave their hands as they shouted "Good night." In a minute more they were specks on the ridge against the night sky, and in a minute more all was silent.

The buildings cost over £7000, and they provide accommodation for 120 Native, and 30 European Boarders. Connected with the Institution is a farm of 1100 acres which are used for agriculture and the grazing of sheep.

The committee of management consists of four magistrates, twelve Fingo headmen, with the resident European Missionaries.

In 1878, Blythswood was £1600 in debt. This was pointed out by Sir Bartle Frere to one of the Fingo Headmen, who quietly replied, "Yes, but that is settled. When it is called for, it will be paid." It was called for, and another large meeting was held. Capt. Blyth and Dr. Stewart gave £25 each, and all the rest



was given by the Fingos. Most of the donors lived in huts, yet out of their small savings they gave liberally that they might have a great house for the education of their children.

The boys at Blythswood learn woodwork, carpentry, painting and building; and the girls are taught needlework laundry, housekeeping, cookery, and domestic economy.

But the moral influence of Blythswood cannot be expressed in terms of arithmetic. In after years, Dr. Stewart said with great moderation, "It has been a place of intellectual light to many, and of spiritual light to some."

The Rev. J. Macdonald, who wrote from personal knowledge asserts, "To-day, the Fingos of the Transkei are a century ahead of their countrymen in wealth, intelligence, agricultural skill and material progress. When they were in bondage, they became inured to hard work. When they were set free, they sought employment among European farmers, and became familiar with better methods of agriculture, and improved breeds of cattle and sheep. They early learned the value of education. Many of them became sincere and earnest Christians, and the result is that they stand in advance of all the Native tribes on the East Coast in civilised habits of life as to food, clothing, and dwellings."

A smaller educational institution established for the benefit of the Fingos was St. Matthew's College. Many members of the smaller clans had settled at Keiskama Hoek, and about the year 1857 they were visited by Bishop Armstrong, of the Anglican church. An indaba or meeting was held at which were present Wulana, a Zizi chief, Socitshe, a Kuze chief, Ntontela, a Tolo chief, and Mdledle, an Abutweni chief. As the outcome of their conference St. Matthew's Mission School was established and it subsequently developed into St. Matthew's College. Many of the Kuze and Zizi boys have there received their education.

## XI

### EXPANSION OF THE TRIBE OF FINGOS

THE Fingos had rapidly increased in numbers and were massed together in their locations to an uncomfortable extent. Some of the locations were under little or no control. Much of this arose from the hurried manner in which the Fingos had been collected in some of the more recent settlements. Strangers from time to time came into the locations, and when the original owners complained, the reply was given: "They are our brothers and sisters, and we cannot turn them away." At Ox Kraal and Kamastone, near Queenstown, there were no overseers whatever. Petty fights were frequent; and the subject of the better government of these locations troubled not only the more intelligent Fingos, but also the neighbouring farmers.

Mr. J. B. Shepstone, in 1856, visited Ox Kraal and Kamastone, and made the following report:

Since my last visit in December, I observe a marked difference in the natives. They express themselves much dissatisfied with the treatment they have received from the Government, and an idea prevails that Government feels no interest in them, much strengthened in their minds from the fact that there is no person to look after the interests of the original proprietors and keep the location in order.

As these Fingos were paying quitrent annually to the amount of about £350, their request for a superintendent to keep order was not unreasonable.

The locations became overcrowded, and some of the original owners talked of removing into Kaffirland in order to find a home with some of the other tribes. The remedy was better supervision and more land;

both of which were ultimately provided by the Government.

Additional territory was furnished in a very unexplained manner. In 1857, one of Kreli's councillors had received messages from the spirits of the old Ama-Xosa chiefs and heroes, Hintsu, Makana, and Gaika, who said that they would shortly appear again in the flesh and sweep all the English into the sea. As a condition of their appearance, they demanded that all cattle should be killed, every grain of corn must be thrown away, and the land must remain uncultivated.

All this talk was extremely absurd, but Kreli ordered the chiefs of the tribe to obey. For months, the slaughter of cattle went on. Grain was destroyed until none was left. Then famine fell on the people. It is said that 30,000 people died of starvation, and as many more were scattered over the Eastern Districts seeking work as cattle and sheep herds. The power of the Ama-Xosa was for ever broken by their own folly.

The Transkei was nearly emptied of its inhabitants. For 8 years the country remained vacant. It was then surveyed and allotted. Kreli was allowed to occupy the portion known as Gcalekaland. From this he was expelled in 1877, for fomenting disorder. Gcalekaland was then given out to Gaikas, friendly Gcalekas, and Fingos. In 1878, the district was annexed to Cape Colony, and is now represented by the divisions of Kentani and Willowvale. Kentani is occupied entirely by Gaikas.

Sir Philip Wodehouse offered the rest of the land, 50 miles square to the Fingos, and about 1866, there was a general move from the locations at Fort Beaufort. Annshaw, Peddie, and Mt. Coke, of the younger Fingos, into the district until 40,000 had settled there. The older Fingos remained in the Colony. Fingoland was formed. It has since been divided into the districts of Nqamakwe Butterworth and Tsomo. The Fingos were now owners of the land where once they and their ancestors had been serfs. Some of them were afraid that their settlement in a district bordering on Gcalekaland would lead to trouble, but they were

assured that if they behaved themselves their former enemies would not be allowed to injure them.

In 1869, Capt. Blyth was appointed to reside among the Fingos as their magistrate, and he succeeded in winning their complete confidence. Under his firm and benevolent rule, the Fingos in the Transkei entered on a career of great prosperity. Public works were carried out. Agriculture made satisfactory progress. Capt. Blyth was a model Native administrator, and combined great tact with prudence.

When in 1876, he was made chief magistrate of the Transkei, he still continued to watch over the interests of the Fingos, who cherished for him the deepest affection. When he died in 1889, the Fingos collected £690, and decided to spend £150 of the amount in raising a memorial to his honour, and the rest they gave to Mrs Blyth.

The inscription on the memorial is in Kafir and translated reads: "We, the Transkeian Natives join the white people in erecting this tribute of love and esteem to the memory of our Chief Magistrate, Capt. M. S. Blyth. He was our great white chief and Father, and as his children we weep, for we have lost a dear and faithful friend who always had our true and best interests at heart. He was always to be found on the side of truth and justice; he showed us the bright example of a Christian, and aided us with wise counsel at all times. Our hearts are heavy. Our loss is too great and our sorrow too deep."

Upon the retirement of Capt. Blyth, Mr. James Ayliff, the son of the old pastor, was appointed to be Magistrate, and it was during his term of office that the smouldering enmity between the Gcalekas and the Fingos broke out into open strife, in what is known as the Fingo-Gcaleka war.

## XII

### THE GCALEKAS ATTACK THE FINGOS

THE gift to the Fingos by the Cape Government of the district around Butterworth was a constant source of irritation to the proud Gcalekas. That the country once held by Hintsá should be possessed by his serfs was a keen offence to the royal clan of the Ama-Xosa. The Fingos prospered exceedingly in their new home. They acquired wagons and oxen, and were ahead of other tribes as traders. Perhaps, they grew not a little proud and resented the scorn of their neighbours. A small affluent of the River Kei, the Gcuwa, separated the two races, and it was only the fine management of Capt. Bylth that for years prevented an outbreak. Even his influence at last failed to prevent the feud flaming up into open war.

In August, 1875, a marriage feast was held at the kraal of a Fingo, named Ngcayebibi. In accordance with Native custom, a large company of Fingos and Ama-Xosa met to drink beer. On the fifth day of the celebration, a Gcaleka chief, called Mxoli, with fourteen of his men, crossed the Gcuwa to participate in the beer drinking. They were uninvited. Towards evening, a Fingo said, "It is time to go. I am going." Mxoli called his followers together, and when they assembled, he asked for more beer which was given them. When that was drunk, they demanded still more beer. A Fingo said, "It is late. You must go," In a half drunken fury, Mxoli cried out, "Beat them. They are hiding the beer." They broke open Ngcayebibi's store, entered and found some beer which they seized. A fight ensued, in which the Gcalekas were driven across the drift and one of them was killed.

Three days afterwards, a thousand Gcalekas, led by Mapasa, a relation of Kreli, and by Mxoli, raided



Fingoland, and carried off cattle, sheep, and goats, burnt huts, and smashed ploughs and pots. If word had not come from Kreli, ordering them not to cross the main road from Butterworth to Ibeka, the Gcalekas would probably have swept off everything, as the Fingos were utterly unprepared for the attack.

Sir Bartle Frere, who was visiting the border, upon receiving the report of this raid, summoned Kreli to appear before him. Kreli was timid, suspicious, and refused. The Governor then sent Col. Eustace to see Kreli, and inform him that the Gcalekas could not be allowed to raid and plunder British subjects. It is probable that Kreli did not himself desire war, but his young warriors were eager to wash their spears, and spurned all restraint.

A hundred Mounted Police, under the command of Inspector Chalmers, with one field gun, were moved up to protect the Fingos, the impression being held that the fray might be only a local one.

Sir Bartle Frere went forward to Nqamakwe where he addressed a large body of Fingos. He said that Col. Eustace had informed him that their conduct had been satisfactory, and that they would be defended in their rights and lawful doings.

On Sept. 26th, about 3000 Gcalekas, led by Kreli's son, Sigcau, and Khiva, advanced on Gwadana Hill, on which were encamped, the Police and 2000 Fingos, under Veldtman, Magxwalisa, Ndlazi, and Zazela, of the Zizi clan, Mazamisa, of the Hlubi clan, Ntsimango, of the Gwane clan, Ngwabini, of the Maduna-Hlubi clan, and Nguza, of the Baca clan. The European commander of the Fingo contingent was Mr. James Ayliff. The Gcalekas advanced in three columns. For a time, the defence was well sustained; but at the 10th round, the old gun carriage broke and it had to be drawn off the field. The sight alarmed the Fingos, who thought that the police were defeated, and that they were about to be left. They retreated in great confusion, and in their flight, they frightened the horses left under guard in the rear, with the result that one officer and six men of the Mounted Police were killed.

In the moment of victory, the Gcalekas in some way got the impression that re-inforcements were coming up to the help of the Fingos, and they fell back in a kind of panic. But for this circumstance, the result of the defeat might have been more serious.

Sir Bartle Frere issued a proclamation, that as Kreli had not the will or the power to make his people keep the peace he had directed Major Griffiths to advance into Kreli's country and exact full reparation for the injuries inflicted on British subjects by Kreli's people.

On Sept. 28th, the Gcalekas, encouraged by their success at the Gwadana, advanced to the number of 7000 on the camp at Ibeka, close to Butterworth where 200 police and 2000 Fingos were stationed. The attack was aimed principally at the Fingos, for Kreli had given orders to shoot "those Fingo dogs." In this battle, the Fingo levies were ably led by the three brothers, Alan, Alexander, and Jack Maclean.

As soon as the Gcalekas appeared led by a famous witch doctress, they were met with a strong artillery fire, and a shell bursting in the midst of one of their columns, they were thrown into confusion.

Seeing this, Mr. Alan Maclean, at the head of a body of Fingos, charged down upon them, and swept them down the hill with considerable loss.

But the Gcalekas, nothing daunted, reformed their broken ranks, and charged on to the right flank of the position, where the Fingos, under Veldman, a man of great ability, garrisoned a stone kraal. They met the approaching Gcalekas with a hot musketry fire, and then rushing out, they drove the enemy off with great slaughter. The Gcalekas threw away their guns and blankets and fled, and were pursued by the Fingos for two miles.

It was now seen by the Government that the war was no trifling quarrel. Volunteers from the Colony and a portion of the 88th Regiment were moved up to the seat of war. The Fingos were placed under the direction of Commandants Ayliff, Maclean, and Pattle. The whole force was commanded by Major Griffiths Inspector of Police.

Sir Bartle Frere deposed Kreli and the country he had held was taken from him and annexed to the Colony. Major Griffiths with his force advanced on Kreli's Great Place, and burnt it to the ground. He swept the district clean of the Gcalekas, and Kreli took refuge in wooded kloofs near the mouth of the Bashee.

The Gcalekas, though defeated, still offered a stubborn resistance. Some of them dared to re-enter their old country and they recovered a number of cattle which had been allowed to remain. They then prepared to make another attack on the British camp.

On the evening of Sunday, Dec. 2nd, a large body of Gcalekas attacked the police and volunteers at Mzizani, not far from where Kreli's Great Place had been. They advanced up a kloof in a cool orderly manner, shouting as they came in Kaffir, "We'll tie you up." Capt. Bailey formed his men into a large hollow square and for several hours there was an incessant fire of musketry. Then the Gcalekas withdrew, leaving 500 of their number killed or wounded. The Fingos were not present in this engagement, but in large numbers they were scouring the country, capturing cattle, and giving the Gcalekas no rest.

Early in 1878, the Gaikas, 7000 strong, joined the Gcalekas, and plunged into the strife. They murdered Mr. J. H. Tainton, Mr. R. G. Tainton and Mr. W. C. Brown, near to the town of Komgha. Farmhouses were burnt, and farmers had to flee for protection to the towns.

The Imperial Government now came to the aid of the Colonists. A small force of 160 soldiers with a battery of 7 pounder guns, and 2 Gatlings, were landed at East London and Col. Glyn took command. Martial law was proclaimed in the districts of Komgha and Stutterheim, where many of the Gaikas resided.

On Feb. 7th, 1878, a combined force of Gcalekas and Gaikas numbering 5000, attacked Capt. Upcher's column at Quintana, about 13 miles to the east of Butterworth. Anticipating an attack, the colonial forces had dug shelter trenches. Skirmishers were sent out to meet the advancing masses of the enemy and lure them

within range of the rifle fire. When within 400 yards of the trenches, they were met with such a fierce storm of bullets that they turned and fled. The frontier Light Horse and the Fingos pursued them and turned the defeat into a rout.

In the same month, the Colonial camp at Kentani was attacked by about 5000 Kaffirs, who charged in dense masses, but were mown down by the fire from the heavy guns. Perhaps this was the most stubbornly fought battle during the war, as the Gcalekas had the assistance of some of the bravest warriors of the Grikas, sent out by Sandile, under the leadership of his son, Matanzima. Both Kreli and Sandile were present during the battle. The principal column of the enemy was led by the tribal priest, who had performed certain charms which made the warriors believe that they were invulnerable. When the Kaffirs were thrown into confusion by the artillery fire, the Fingos charged down upon them, and prevented them renewing the attack. So far as Kreli was concerned, this battle was decisive, He retired again across the Bashee, and took no further part in the war.

When the Peddie Fingos were told that their former friend and leader, Mr. R. G. Tainton, had been killed by the Grikas, and that their help in the field was needed, they sent within two days a large Fingo levy up to Tzitzaba, near Komgha. The Amazizi were under the leadership of Richard Tainton Kawa, one of the chief councillors of Njokweni; the Ama-reledwane were under David Diba Matomela; the Ukunene were under Nlungwini Mijoli; the Amabele were under Komityana Ngwekazi and Marambana; and Mbuto were under Sigada Kamela. These fought at Tzitzaba, Thomas River, the Pirie Bush, and at Ntaba-ka-Ndoda. They captured a large number of cattle, some of which had been stolen from European farmers living in the East London division.

A second contingent was sent out from Peddie under Lewani Njokweni, Nzaniso, Mhlanganiso Njokweni, and others, and they took an active part in the skirmishes at Empuzana, Emtombe, Keiskama Bush, and at Ntaba-ka-Ndoda.

Of the many instances of Fingo bravery, room must be found for one. John Malgas, known also by his native name, Xala, a Hlubi, was sergeant in the native levies commanded by Capt. (afterwards General) Brabant. He was one day returning from his farm to camp, and was accompanied by his son and two young men. When near Cefani River, they were attacked by thirteen Kaffirs, armed with assagais and guns. At the first shot of the foe, the two young men fled carrying with them Xala's gun, so that Xala was left defenceless. Seeing this, one of the Kaffirs rushed up and attempted to stab Xala, when he was shot by Xala's son, who himself was immediately afterwards mortally wounded and died in a few minutes. Xala seized the assagai of the dead Kaffir and prepared to defend himself to the utmost. An assagai struck him in the shoulder, but he pulled it out and fought on. A bullet pierced his thigh, but fortunately missed the bone. Another bullet broke one of his ribs. For several miles he kept up a running fight none of his assailants daring to close with him. He crossed the Cintsu River, parrying the assagais hurled at him with the assagai he held in his hand. He managed to reach a building near the drift and found it in flames. Sitting by the burning building he dried his clothes. He was rescued by a party of men sent out from camp, and carried back; but for months he was unable to walk. As some small compensation for his sufferings, the Government awarded him at the close of the war the sum of £100.

The Gaikas took refuge in the natural strongholds to be found in the Schelmhoek and the Waterkloof, from both of which they were driven, the Fingos taking an active part in the fight. Sandile and his men then fled to the Pirie Bush, only 12 miles from King Williamstown, and all attempts to force them out failed. Gen. Thesiger, who was now in command, surrounded the haunts of the enemy with a force which included 5000 Europeans, 3700 Fingos, and 2000 mounted men, Supplies of food were cut off. Many of the Gaikas died of starvation. Sandile took refuge in a cave with his chief warrior, Dukwana, and in a skirmish they were shot by Gumede, a Kuze chief, and his men, assisted



by Nunga, a Zizi chief. Seyolo was killed in another skirmish by the Volunteers. Other chiefs were captured. The Gaika tribe was broken up and scattered in various parts of the country. Then the war came to an end, and their district was occupied by European farmers.

The Grahamstown Journal said it was clear that the influence of Christianity among the Fingos had been helpful to peace. The Gcalekas, who had resisted the Christian teacher, and the Gaikas, who had a passion for strong drink, had caused all the trouble. Heathen Fingos for a brief period had hesitated on which side to declare themselves; but the Christian Fingos had held them back, had been constantly loyal, and had fought well by the side of the European troops and Volunteers.

Parts of Gcalekaland were given out to the Fingos who were sandwiched in between those Gcalekas who had been allowed to remain. The Wesleyan Missionary at Butterworth visited these new Fingo locations, held services, and established schools. Even the Gcalekas, broken and impoverished, awoke at last to the value of the Christian religion; and in 1904, at their request a Wesleyan Minister was appointed to live among them at the picturesque village of Willowvale, where a church and schoolroom were soon erected. The Gospel is in the ascendent, and every year among the Natives it is more widely accepted.

### XIII

#### THE DISARMAMENT ACT

A wave of Native unrest passed over South Africa in the year 1878. The cause of it is not easy to explain. It is supposed that Cetywayo, the Zulu chief, was in communication with Sekukuni, the chief of the Bapedi, in the Transvaal, and with several of the chiefs in Kaffirland, exciting them against the Europeans. Perhaps the stubborn resistance of the Ama-Xosa in the recent conflict had again roused the war spirit in races which were still barbarous. The Ama-Mpondo-mise, in the districts of Tsolo and Qumbu; the Basuto, in the districts of Mt. Fletcher and Matatiele; the Tembus, in the districts of St. Marks, Xalanga, and Engcobo, rose against the Government. The Griquas, at Kokstad, rebelled. Farther afield, the Baralong in the Orange Free State, and the Batlaping in Bechuanaland, took up arms.

The Colonial forces, unassisted by the Imperial Government had to restore order within the Colony, and on the border. Once more the Fingos were asked to assist, and again they readily responded.

Mr. Thomson, the Resident Magistrate at Maclear, was surrounded at Chevy Chase, in a trader's store, near the River Tsitsa. Mr. Liefeldt came from Matatiele to relieve him, and he was accompanied by the Fingos under Zibi Sidinane, Ludidi, Magadla, Lupindo, Bubesi and Matandela, all Hlubi chiefs. After Mr. Thomson had been rescued, the relief column returned to Matatiele, and Zibi Sidinane, with a hundred men, conducted Mr. Thomson to Maclear, where for two months they were surrounded by the Ama-Mpondo-mise, under their chief Mhlontlo. At last they were driven off, and the Fingos then relieved some of their

own countrymen, as well as the children of Mr. Allen, a trader, who had several stores along the Hartebeeste River, near Ugie.

Mr. Stanford came up with reinforcements, and together they took Mr. Thompson to Dordrecht where he was safe. For this service, Zibi Sidinane was given by the Government, land near Mt. Fletcher, and when the war was over, he and his son took possession of it, and have resided there since.

Morosi, a Basuto chief, from his mountain fastness, defied the Colonial Government, and after a siege which lasted several months, the Colonial forces stormed the mountain and Morosi was killed. In these operations the Amahlubi, under Mehlomakulu; the Amabele, under Mei, and the Amazizi, under Nombewu, all from the district of Herschel, rendered valuable assistance.

The Tembus, under Daliseli, advanced on Clarkebury, with the intention of burning it down. The chief sent a message, beforehand, into Clarkebury that all the white persons on the Mission Station were to leave at once. The Rev. P. Hargreaves calmly refused to stir, and would not allow any other traders who had taken refuge at Clarkebury to leave. A few days later, several thousand Tembus came over the hill, intending to plunder and kill where they were able. Just at this juncture, when the destruction of the station seemed imminent, Mkatsane, the son of Veldtman, arrived with a large number of Fingo militiamen, boldly attacked the Tembus, defeated, and dispersed them. So Clarkebury was saved.

After much desultory fighting, in which the chief work was done by Colonial Volunteers, peace was once more restored.

The Cape Government received very distinct intimations that in any future war with the Natives they were not to expect any assistance from the Imperial Troops. The Cape Parliament therefore considered it was absolutely necessary that the most stringent restrictions on the possession of guns should be imposed, so as to make it almost impossible in future for any outbreak of strife to take place. They passed what was called a "Peace Preservation Act," and gave the Premier, Mr. Gordon

Sprigg, power to put it in force in any district where it was considered to be needed.

Somewhat unexpectedly, in 1879, the Premier applied the act to the residents in Idutywa, Butterworth, Nqamakwe, and Tsomo, and they were required to give up their guns, for which they would receive a small sum of money in compensation. These districts were occupied by Fingos, Gcalekas, and Gaikas, between whom no distinction was made. The proclamation excited deep discontent especially among the Fingos. They asked, "Why should they be required to give up their guns?" They had fought in successive wars side by side with Colonial and Imperial troops. They had always been loyal. Why should they be deprived of their guns? It might be prudent to disarm the Gcalekas the Gaikas, or the Pondos, who had been arrayed against the Government. But why should the Fingos be humiliated, by being treated as if they had been rebels? In past years, they had had to fight in defence of their lives and their property against unrelenting foes, what would be their fate if they were disarmed?" Some of the Fingos complained, "We are disarmed because our colour is black. If we have been disloyal, say right out when and where we have so acted; but if we have served the Government faithfully we ought to be allowed to keep our guns."

There was no doubt of the indignation the application of this act excited, but Mr. Sprigg refused to yield. He held that firearms should be removed from the possession of persons who did not require them for ordinary use, and could not be trusted to use them cautiously in times of danger and excitement. The act was therefore enforced on Fingos, Gaikas, and Gcalekas, alike. But the policy was disapproved by many of the Colonists. Sir Garnet Wolseley, then in command of the South African forces, wrote strongly: "The endeavour to take arms from Natives regardless of whether they had or had not been previously loyal is calculated to raise the bitterest feelings against our rule." The lapse of time has softened much of the bitterness the disarmament created, but the sense of injustice still remains.

What the Fingos feared actually came to pass. They were left unarmed against their enemies. In Oct. 1880, many of the Native clans beyond the Bashee rose in arms and expected that the Fingos, smarting from the loss of their guns, would join them. When they refused, a hostile party raided Fingoland, and killed Capt. Blakeway with about 30 Fingos. Four days later, they made another raid, and Capt. Linsingen, a brave officer, his son, and 3 Europeans were killed. Capt. Blyth called for volunteers, and the Christian Fingos promptly responded to the call, and assisted the Government against the hostile clans.

There is one Fingo, whose sterling worth and romantic life deserve more than a passing allusion, Veldman Bikitsha, or to give him his legal title, Captain Veldman Bikitsha. By birth, he was a petty chief of the Amazizi clan, but by his own exertions he rose to a position unequalled amongst the Fingos of the present age.\*

He was a boy of 13, when together with his parents he took up his residence at Fort Peddie, in 1835. On attaining manhood, he joined Sir Walter Currie's police, and saw much active service. In the wars of 1846, and 1851, he rendered most efficient aid, and was many times mentioned in despatches as a loyal and brave soldier. In 1865, he took up his residence at Zazulwana, near Butterworth, where he was appointed Headman, and he continued to reside there till the day of his death.

In the war of 1877, he was given a commission as Captain in the Fingo levies. During the Tembu rising, he was largely instrumental in bringing about the submission of the rebels. For these services he was permitted to retain his rank as Captain, and was given a beautiful farm in the district of Kentani.

In the year 1889, he visited England in company with his son Charles, and his son-in-law, Theodore Ndwandwa, and was presented to Queen Victoria. He gave to her a war shield and assagais, and said to her, "We bring you this shield and these assagais

\* For much of the account of Captain Veldtman I am indebted to the "Transkeian Gazette."



as a sign that we have never feared a white man, and have never lifted our hand against any of your people. They are also a sign of all the kindness for which we are indebted to you." The Queen gave Veldman a signed photograph of herself, and a brilliant uniform which he always wore on state occasions.

When the Duke of Connaught visited Capetown a few years ago, Veldman was one of the delegates deputed to wait upon his Royal Highness, who presented him with a handsome watch having his name engraved inside.

In 1907, he had the honour of appearing before Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, at the head of a deputation representing the Fingos in the Transkei, Kamastone, Victoria East, Fort Beaufort, and Peddie divisions. After expressing their thanks for the protection and freedom they had received from the Government, and how they had learned to appreciate the inestimable value of Christianity and education, they asked the permission of the Governor "to keep and observe the 14th day of May, and all successive such days, as a day of thanksgiving and commemoration of the emancipation of the Fingos." The allusion to this event, they said, reminded them of the gratitide they owed to the Rev. John Ayliff, Col. Somerset, and Sir Benjamin Durban, who had been the means of their deliverance.

To which address, Sir Walter replied, "I think it is a wise proposal that the day upon which the Fingos were formally taken under the protection of the British Crown should be commemorated for all time. I think it is a wise proposal, because it is right that the young men of the tribes and those who follow after them should always have before them the remembrance of the preservation of their people and of the power of the British Crown. The necessary steps will be taken to secure the observance of May 14th in the schools where the parents so wish, and for Fingo employees of the Government to have leave given them to take part in the celebrations if they so desire."

In private life, Capt. Veldtman was a great power among the Fingos, the major portion of whom looked up to him as their chief. His counsel and advice were

sought for, far and wide, and they were always given with the single aim of justice and equity.

Capt. Veldman was one of the original members of the Transkeian General Council under the Glen Grey Act; and was one of the assessors at the Appeal Court, and was looked upon as one of the Government's most reliable counsellors.

He was a staunch member of the Wesleyan Church, and the cause of education found in him a warm supporter. He died in the year 1910, full of honours, respected by both Natives and Europeans, and with a reputation unequalled in the history of the Transkei.

Such a career inspires Natives to take their part in the complex public life of the people. When King Edward VII. died, the Fingos at Kimberley sent a message of condolence to the present King and Queen, which was graciously acknowledged. They were among the first to offer a hearty welcome to the first Governor-General of the Union, and his wife, Lord and Lady Gladstone, on their arrival in South Africa.

There are not wanting signs that the Fingos are beginning to appreciate more highly the privilege of citizenship within the Empire; and as years pass, it is hoped, that they will increasingly influence the other Native races in favour of Christian civilisation.

## XIV

### MARKS OF PROGRESS

It is surprising with what rapidity the Fingo population of South Africa has increased, under British protection, since the year 1835, when they probably did not number more than 25,000 persons of all ages. Unlike the Red Indians and the Aboriginal Australians, who when brought into contact with European races, diminished in numbers, and are now nearly extinct, the Fingos, more even than other Bantu tribes, have increased at an exceedingly rapid rate.

At the census of 1904, there were 310,720 Fingos in Cape Colony alone. When to these are added the Fingos who reside in the other Provinces, there cannot be less at the present time than 350,000 Fingos in South Africa. For 75 years, they have doubled their numbers every twenty years, a rate of increase almost without parallel.

The Fingos are found in every district of Cape Colony, except Bredasdorp, Ladysmith, Namaqualand, and Van Rhynsdorp; but they are chiefly found in the Eastern Districts, viz:—King Williamstown, Fort Beaufort, Aliwal North, Victoria East, Peddie, Cathcart, Queenstown, Transkei, Tembuland, and Griqualand East. In the whole Colony, excluding Transkei, there were in the census of 1904, 118,398 Fingos. Between the River Kei and Natal, there were 177,990 Fingos; and in British Bechuanaland, there were 14,332 Fingos.

In the Transkei, the Fingos live in "Reserves," allotted to the sole occupation of Natives, with the exception of a few European traders, and in which farming offers them congenial employment. In the other districts of the Colony, many are employed on farms as herdsmen, or labour tenants. The farmer engages them as servants, or provides them with land and seed

on certain terms, generally on what is called the "halves." The tenant works the land, and pays half of his crop to the landlord as rent. The labour-tenant is often under contract to work for his landlord when required to do so for a certain wage.

But Fingos are found as far west as Capetown, and as far north as Kimberley, and Vryburg, and Rhodesia, where they are employed on the railways, in the mines, or in towns as policemen. In all the Municipal locations, in the Eastern Districts, Fingos form an important part of the Native population. The men find work in the stores and shops, and the women make excellent cooks, housemaids and nurses.

Everywhere and under all circumstances, the Fingos are as a rule, industrious, thrifty, and law abiding. Amongst them are men who display more than ordinary intelligence. Many are Ministers of the Gospel, teachers in Government schools, interpreters in law courts, and a few are editors of newspapers.

About half of the marriageable persons of both sexes are married. The number of wives to every hundred husbands is 121·50, as compared with 127·18, in 1891. Among the other Bantu tribes, the proportion has slightly increased. It is evident that as Christianity and civilisation advance among the Natives there is a tendency to abandon polygamy.

Of the 350,000 Fingos, about one-half are professing Christians, as compared with one-fourth in the other Bantu tribes. The other half are "reds." This is to be regretted, because it cannot be doubted that the Christian Fingo is more progressive than his "red" neighbour, more appreciative of education, and a more enterprising farmer. Eighteen in every hundred can read, as against six among the rest of the Bantu.

The majority of the Christian Fingos are adherents of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, but considerable numbers are attached to the Anglican and Scottish Presbyterian Churches. Within recent years, churches have been formed which are composed of, managed, and maintained by Natives only. Native devotion is struggling to realize in new forms its own distinctive spiritual life.

Why one-half of the Fingos, after seventy years of Christian influence, remain heathen is not easy of explanation. Much may be learned from the reports of the Resident Magistrates of Peddie and the Transkei, as given in the yearly Blue Books; and on the several points dealt with in this chapter, we shall not hesitate freely to quote from them, as containing the opinions of unprejudiced and often friendly critics.

In the early operations of Christian Missions, the Missionary obtained from a chief a grant of land on which to erect a church and a manse, and around them collected a more or less settled population, who were subject to no law but the personal rule of the Missionary. But the station system was not a success. Men whose lives were in peril from the anger of a chief or the plots of a witch doctor, fled to the Mission Station for safety. The Missionary had no police with which to enforce order, and the result was that many of the fugitives, whilst professing to be Christians practised the worst vices. In this way, Christianity was brought into contempt, and the "reds" were proud of their superiority.

"In former years, large mission stations were a necessity. They were "Cities of Refuge," to which those who were accused of witchcraft, or had incurred the displeasure of their chiefs, could fly for safety. But this fact drew to them some of the very worst characters in the tribe. Such protection is no longer needed. The school Kaffir professes to look down upon the "red," who in his turn regards his professing Christian neighbour with dislike and suspicion. While this antagonistic feeling exists, heathens are not likely to flock in any considerable numbers to the mission ranks." (Blue Book)

Another result of the formation of these mission stations is that mission work tends to become local and conventional. Christian services are regularly held in the mission church, and are attended by the professed Christian converts; but little efforts is made to evangelize the large "red" population living within a few



miles of the station. Christianity loses to a large extent its aggressive evangelistic force. The Christian and the "red" elements of the clan stand apart, and imperfectly understand each other. If the "red" attends the mission service, he is welcomed and kindly treated; but if he stays away, and spends the Sabbath in smoking and drinking beer, little effort is made by his Christian neighbour to win him to a higher life.

Then missionaries were few in proportion to the people amongst whom they laboured. Often great distances separated them from each other, so that they had little opportunity of meeting and comparing methods of work. It was like attempting to light a European town by placing a solitary lamp on the Market Square.

The work of bringing the Gospel home to the heathen cannot depend permanently on European missionaries exclusively. The work must be done by Pauls and Peters from within the native churches; men to whom the language of the Native is their mother tongue, and to whom Native habits and modes of thought are quite familiar.

Amongst the "reds," old superstitions linger, and exert a degrading influence.

"Belief in the power of witchcraft, and the ability of the witch doctor to divine who practised it, is as strongly rooted in the minds of the people as ever; although smelling out cannot be practised as openly as formerly. The suspected person is never slow to run to the magistrate for protection." (Blue Book)

There is, however, a remarkable absence of cases of serious crime. Assaults arising from beer drinks form the greatest proportion of the criminal records of the Native law courts. Stock stealing from the European farmer is a thing of the past.

Among the Christian Fingos, civilisation has made considerable progress. One of the first signs of an inward spiritual change is the discarding of the red blanket, the bangles on arms and ankles, and the adoption of European clothing.

“Clothes are purchased more frequently than formerly, not only for use when attending official or missionary gatherings, but for home purposes also. It is not at all an exceptional occurrence to pass a kraal and see a man working in a pair of boots and socks, and a hat and a shirt, and a suit of clothes.

The natives who have come under missionary influence are steadily advancing. This is proved by the fact that they readily subscribe large sums of money for the erection of suitable school buildings, and insist on their children attending school regularly.

One or two square houses have been built by well-to-do men, and a few have taken to growing wheat, oats, and potatoes.

Some of the dwellings are of a superior kind, and are usually white-washed, and in many instances are furnished with tables and chairs. Iron bedsteads and mattresses are becoming a necessity. One man has bought a two-furrowed plough.” (Blue Book)

These examples of the benefits of Christian civilisation are not without their influence on the “red” Fingo, and slowly he is drawn in the same direction, and adopts an improved mode of living.

“The old Kaffir hoe is never used except for cleaning crops from weeds, and breaking up ground that is either too steep or too stony to admit of a plough being used. Few girls will consent to marry a man who does not possess a plough, knowing that if her husband is without that very essential implement of husbandry her life will be one of the severest toil.” (Blue Book)

The Fingos, in common with other Native tribes, are agriculturalists and breeders of cattle. Even when attracted by high wages to the seaports or the mines, they generally stay only for a few months, and then return to their homes. By this mixed form of labour, some of them have accumulated considerable wealth, not only in live stock, but also in hard cash, and are able to buy land. Mr. J. Hemming, for many years the Civil Commissioner of Albany, wrote, “One man,

a Fingo brought £1600 in gold to me to count for him, and I saw him hand it over in payment of a farm. Another, as his attorney informed me, was worth from £16,000 to £20,000 in land and stock." These are special cases, but the number of Fingos who by thrift and hard work have secured for themselves a comfortable home is very large.

As far back as the year 1870, the Fingos began to realize the value of education. Formerly, they were indifferent, for their children were useful to the parents in many ways in kraal life. Then a change came. A missionary wrote from Butterworth, "The desire for education burst forth all at once and took us by surprise."

Schools were multiplied to meet the demand for education, and the supply of teachers was insufficient. Training Institutions were established at Peddie, Lesseyton, Clarkebury, Butterworth, and Bensonvale in addition to Healdtown. Lovedale was repeatedly enlarged. Blythswood was built; and still the demand for schools and education increased in intensity.

In 1905, Dr. Muir reported, that in the Transkei alone there were 745 aided schools for Native children, the larger number of whom were Fingos.

"It is sometimes said that education unfits a Native for manual labour. But that statement is misleading. A Native who can read and write, and has received some manual training, is more useful than the rude tribal Kaffir even as an ordinary labourer. But natives are needed for many kinds of work for which education is essential. Many of them are employed by the whites as messengers, policemen, artisans, hospital assistants, clerks, teachers, and interpreters, and amongst their own people there is an increasing need of Native doctors and nurses. The employment of whites in these capacities would often be impracticable in view of the high wages which they require, and it is desirable that a sufficient number of properly qualified Natives should be forthcoming (South African Natives)."

The enthusiasm for education was to some extent mis-

directed. School instruction was comparatively cheap. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, were acquired without great difficulty. Industrial training was costly, for it required tradesmen as teachers, who must be paid good salaries. So in the effort to escape from barbarism, the acquisition of handicrafts was neglected, and book learning was unduly exalted. It was sufficiently recognized that a people destitute of trained artisans cannot rise to the higher levels of civilisation. The ability to write a letter, or to work a sum in fractions, is a poor compensation for the inability to build a square house on the plumb and to make a table or a chair.

Most of the mission schools have Native teachers, and on the whole they do their work well. The Education Department does not encourage these schools to give instruction beyond Standard IV, which means that they learn reading, writing, arithmetical calculations with money and ordinary weights and measures, and South African Geography. An exception is made in favour of Pupil Teachers who have to reach Standard VI in order to enter one of the Training Institutions. The medium of instruction in all the standards is English, which to a Native child is an obstacle to progress. In the standards, instruction should be given in the child's mother tongue. The Native language is wonderfully rich in grammatical forms and ways of expressing ideas, and is a rich inheritance which the Natives have received from their forefathers. Why should it be overlooked in most of the Native schools?

If the Government provided a plain education for native children, combined with practical lessons in farming, irrigating, water conserving, manuring, carpentry, masoning, for the boys; and cooking and needlework for the girls, and allow those who wish for higher education to obtain it on the same terms as a European boy, by paying for it, the natives would derive more benefit from the education for their children. (Blue Book)

But public prejudice makes it impossible, at present,

for a Native to obtain higher education for his child even by paying for it. No long ago, Mr. Tengo Jabavu, editor of the *Imvo*, had reluctantly to send his son to England to be educated, he was not allowed to enter Dale College, or any other college in Cape Colony. Many Native youths have recently been sent for their education to the United States, to Negro colleges, from which they return imbued with ideas excusable in a Georgian negro but utterly unsuited to South Africa.

The demand for higher education will have to be met. The Inter-Colonial Native Affairs Commission proposed that a Native College for Higher Education should be established to embrace all British South Africa. The proposal has received extensive and cordial encouragement. An admirable site has been secured at Fort Hare, about a mile from Lovedale, and nearly £50,000 have been raised or promised towards the cost of the buildings, and the endowment of the Institution. The material part of the scheme is therefore assured; but it remains to be seen whether a sufficient number of students will be forthcoming to make the College a success. Between 1891 and 1901, ten years, only 18 Natives, at Lovedale, entered the matriculation class, or less than an average of two students each year. In 1907, out of 64 students in the College department, only 7 were in the matriculation class. Great care will therefore be needed in working out the details of the scheme.



## THE GLEN GREY ACT

THE Glen Grey Act is not a part of Fingo history, but it has exercised so important an influence on the Fingos in the Transkei, about 150,000 in number, that it cannot be passed over in silence. This Act was passed by Parliament, for the benefit of the Tembus, in the Glen Grey District; but its provisions were extended by proclamation to the Transkeian districts of Butterworth, Nqamakwe, Tsomo, and Idutywa in which the Fingos predominate and gave them the right to manage their own local affairs. For each of these four districts, a Council of six members (natives) is appointed, four elected by the headmen, and two nominated by the Governor. The Resident Magistrate is the chairman. Over the four District Councils is a General Council, consisting of four Resident Magistrates, the native representatives and at its meetings, the Chief Resident Magistrate of the Transkei presides. A seat on the Council is considered a great honour, and furnishes a lesson in self government that is invaluable. The Act imposes a general tax of 10/, and a labour tax of 10/, the proceeds of which are expended by each District Council within its own area on education, roads, bridges, plantations and other useful work.

At first, the general tax, and especially the labour tax, were viewed by a portion of the natives with great hostility; but the Fingos decided to invite the Premier to meet them and explain the Act, before opposing its provisions. A large meeting was held at Nqamakwe when it was pointed out that compared with other Provinces the hut tax was light.

In Natal, it was 14/, in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, it was 40/, and in Basutoland and Rhodesia, it was 20/. (Blue Book)

The Premier pointed out that the labour tax would not press so heavily upon them as they supposed. Any able-bodied man who could show that, during his

life had worked three years at different times beyond the District in which he resided, was free from the tax; and any one who had worked three months beyond the District during the year, would for that year not have to pay the tax. From the time of that meeting, opposition to the Act ceased. When the Fingos found that the proceeds of the taxes would be under their control, and would be devoted entirely to the advancement of their own country, they began to see the law was a good one.

It is doubtful if it is wise to compel men to seek employment under the pressure of a labour tax. It irritates the Natives, and makes labour unpopular. Besides, the yield is so small that it could be abolished without inconvenience. In 1905, the General Rate in the Idutywa Reserve brought in £2714 10s., whilst the labour tax in the same area realised only £135.

The Native Councils have fostered education, and made themselves responsible for the local contributions to the salaries of the teachers. Dr. Muir says, "In those districts where the Glen Grey Act has been proclaimed, better teachers are got, schools are in better condition generally, and the people take a good deal more interest in education. Had I my wish, I should have these clauses of the Glen Grey Act proclaimed throughout the territories."

The Councils have also devoted large sums to the making of roads. In eight years, the Transkei General Council expended £22,000 on roads within the territory. It built the suspension bridge across the Tsomo River, and paid half the cost of a bridge over the Geua River, at Butterworth.

The councils have in addition planted wattles extensively so as to supply the wants of the people for hut building, and prevent the drain on the small forests that still remain.

The complete purpose of the Glen Grey Act is only attained when personal titles to land are substituted for tribal ownership. The Fingos live under pleasant climatic conditions. Their wants are few, and the communal policy gives little inducement to individual exertion. To make farther advance, they need the stimu-

lus of personal ownership of land. Men, who came into contact with civilised life at Kimberley or the Rand, and secure earnings formerly unthought of, do not readily submit to old ideas and practices.

The principle of individual tenure has been adopted in the district of Butterworth with marked success. The average size of a holding is 4 morgen with rights of commonage. Mr. J. C. Warner, Resident Magistrate, Nqamakwe, states:

"The survey of this district is proceeding apace, and the Natives, who are very anxious to obtain titles to their allotments, take great interest in the matter. As the system of individual tenure is extended and better understood, there can be no doubt it will become more popular.

As personal right to the land is realised, the owner begins to take pride in his possession. He repairs and enlarges his homestead and he improves his mode of living. When the surveys are completed, it is intended to extend individual tenure to the other districts of the Transkei.

Personal ownership of land probably, will gradually break up the old tribal system, as it exists in the "Reserves" in Peddie and the Transkei. What is tending in the same direction is that many of the young men leave home for a long or shorter period to work in the diamond and gold mines, and return with a new sense of independence which makes them impatient of tribal restraint. So a change is coming which is unavoidable. The tribal tie will weaken and it remains to be seen if the individual Fingo, in the greater freedom and safety of civilised life will acquire self-reliance and self-control. If he does, the change will be a stimulus to development and progress.

The change has its dangers; but against them there is no more effective protection than the influence of the Christian religion and education. It is a hopeful sign that the Fingos give liberally towards the erection of their churches and the support of their Ministers. It is a frequent occurrence for a Native Church to be built at a cost of several hundred pounds, and for the

whole amount to be raised at the opening services by gifts of cash, or live stock, or grain.

The Fingos, as we have pointed out, are a pastoral and an agricultural people. The Glen Grey Act affords them an opportunity of becoming farmers on their own land. Some of them in the Transkei keep flocks of merino sheep and sell the wool for export. They are learning to appreciate the value of Agricultural Societies. With their increasing sense of responsibility and their growing needs, they will become thrifty and industrious and will eventually provide employment for other natives. In the future, Fingos should find occupation among their own people as carpenters, builders, and blacksmiths.

There is a general agreement of opinion among the magistrates that the Fingos, in some districts are becoming poorer every year, not from drought, or losses of live stock, but from an unfortunate habit of borrowing money at exorbitant rates of interest.

There is a tendency on the part of the Natives to live on a system of credit. Rather than part with their stock, or work to earn the money, they will pay the most fabulous prices for grain or goods, on the chance of being able to pay later on. Perhaps unable to pay they borrow money at high interest and when that becomes due they are obliged to work or sell some of their stock hurriedly and get less than they might have done under favourable circumstances. (Blue Book)

A typical case is that of a Fingo Day School Teacher who borrowed £9 to pay the fee at Lovedale for the education of his daughter. The lender charged 1s. 6d. per month on each £. so the interest on the loan was at the rate of 80 per cent per annum. At the end of six months, the debt had increased from unpaid interest to £13 1s. 6d. Yet the lender held the oxen of the borrower for the debt. Such a process leads to beggary.

The Usury Act passed by the Parliament in 1908, limits the interest on loans under £10 to 20 per cent. If the loan is over £10 and under £20, the interest must not exceed 15 per cent. Any loan over £20 must not be subject to a higher rate of interest than 12 per cent.

Any lender who exceeds these rates is liable to a fine, on conviction, of not more than £100.

There is no doubt that this law is widely ignored. The lenders who exact high rates of interest are not always Europeans. Even Natives have followed the pernicious example, and held their countrymen in bondage by charging illegal rates of interest. If an offender were taken into Court, and heavily fined, this ruinous practice would be checked, and the slow impoverishment of the Natives might be arrested.

The condition of the Fingos who live in Municipal Locations is improving each year. They find employment in the adjacent town as drivers, grooms, storemen, cooks, housemaids, and general servants, and come daily into contact with the white population. The contact is for the most part beneficial. They wear European clothing. They have their own churches, some of which are neat and substantial structures in brick or stone, and they have Ministers of their own race. They have also Government aided schools for the education of their children. They have their own cricket and foot-ball clubs for moments of recreation. They are industrious and law abiding, and many of them vote for Parliamentary and Municipal elections. If a few acquire some of the worst vices of the degraded European, they are known and shunned.

The occupation of the Fingos who live on farms as herdsmen, shearers, agriculturalists, or labour tenants, is congenial, because they have the care of cattle and the cultivation of land, with both of which they have been familiar from childhood. But their lot has many disadvantages. They are widely scattered, one or two families on a farm. They have few if any opportunities of attending Christian services. Perhaps there is no Native church within many miles, and there is no school for the education of their children. As a rule, they make good servants, and the farmer gets cheap labour, but they are neither so well clad, nor so well fed nor so well housed, as the Fingos on Municipal Locations. Their huts are mean, and the red blanket is often in evidence. It is difficult to see how they are to rise above the lower grades of work.

Results of Mission work and education show that



the Fingo can be fitted to fill places of the usefulness. Of the many Natives who are employed as Ministers of the Gospel, or as teachers in Government Schools, or as clerks, policemen, or interpreters in the law courts, by far the greater number are Fingos. They have won their way to positions of trust and honourable services, and their children may be expected to carry the upward movement still higher.

But the elevation of the Fingos depends largely if not wholly on their acceptance of Christianity. The Gospel has placed them in the van of the Native races, and it is the Gospel alone that will enable them to maintain their position.

Commerce has little educative force, and the railway, the telegraph, and the telephone, do not inform the raw Native but only perplex. They are so many examples of the white man's magic. Even the plough was not appreciated until Christianity had planted in the Native mind the conviction that it was unmanly to leave field work to be done wholly by women, many of them with infants on their backs.

Education may raise the standard of the intelligence, but in the sense of moral training, it often puffs up and makes the Native restless and discontented.

Christianity alone imparts a new life. It has already abolished the horrible cruelties of witchcraft, the savage raids and counter raids of tribal warfare, and the mad slaughter of men and women at the death of a tribal chief. It will do more. Jesus Christ is the greatest moral and spiritual force in the world. Where He is accepted and obeyed, drunkenness and lust are slain; modesty, sobriety, honesty, and peace, flourish like the flowers of the field. The whole aspect of society is changed.

All fierce extremes that beat along Time's shore,  
 All things grow sweet in Him  
 He draws all things into an order fair,  
 Like chidden waves grow mild  
 And creep to kiss His feet.  
 For He alone it is that brings  
 The fading flower of our humanity to perfect  
 blossoming.

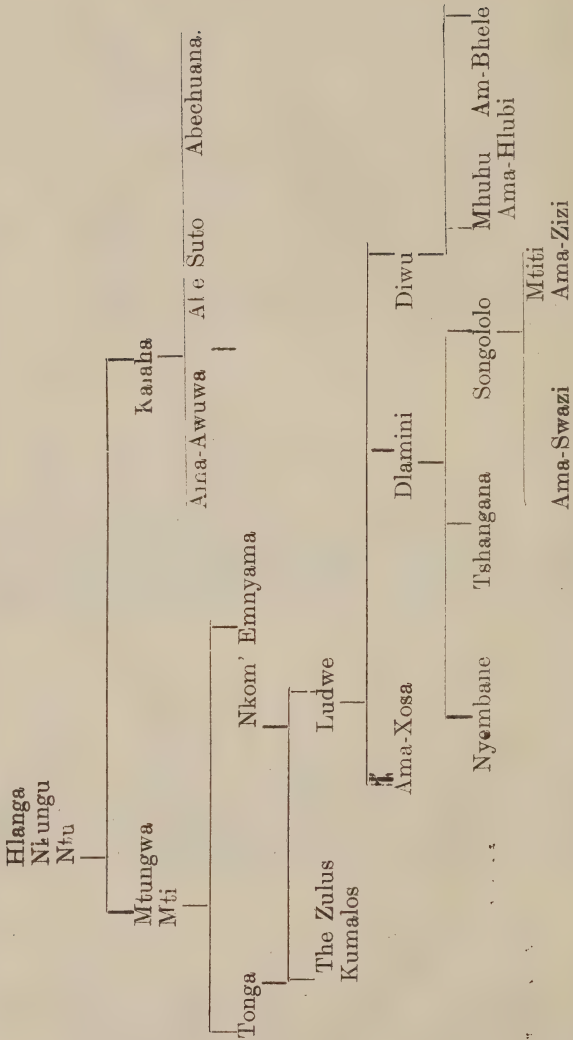
# NAMES OF THE SEVERAL FINGO CLANS, AND THEIR CHIEFS, WITH THEIR PRESENT PLACES OF RESIDENCE.

Clans.	Chiefs.	Residence.	Members.
I. AMAHLUBI			
Ntsele	Langalibalele	Natal	Dlamini, Malunga, Mnguni
	Siyepu	Kwa-Matole	Masoka, Skosana, Kasibe
	Mhlambiso	Herschel	Nkala, Mbongwe, Xaba
	Mehlomakulu	Middle Drift	Msimanga, Mlambo, Mtambo
	Zibi Shadrack	Tora-Tembuland	Maduna (originally Basuto)
	Zibi Ncanywa	Matatiele	Mazibuko, Mlanda
	Ludidi	Peddie	Mapela, Mvemve, Tuse
	Mlauli	Tsomo	Mkwane, Lubelo, Ndaba
	Ndondo	Tsomo	Lusu, Maya, Tshabalala
	Zulu Msutu	Peddie	Mhila, Pakati
	Tyefu Msutu	Peddie	
	Matomela	Ox Kraal	
Ama-Reledwane	Zulu Zimema	Peddie, Transkei	
	Mrwebo	Peddie	
	Mvabaza		
	Msizi Kazi	Peddie	
	Mabandla		
	Mabandla Mbovane	Tyume	Zondi, Madiba, Kuboni
	Mabandla Jamangile	Ugie	Nyati, Bikana, Ntshangase
	Nkwenkwezi	Transkei	Memela, (originally Basuto)
	Ngwekazi	Peddie	Mabala, Zikabane
II. AMABELE			
Ntetye			

Dlambulo	Kaulela	Peddie	
Lutshaba	Mavuso	Alice and Ndakana	
Jwara	Kabasa	Ox Kraal	
III. AMA-ZIZI	Mdingi		
Langa	Ndingi	Peddie and Transkei	
Lamzeni	Xabadiya	Umtata	
	Ndlazi Thomas	Healdtown	Goqolo, Ndzaba
	Ndlazi Gcume	Butterworth	Masango, Ncwabe
			Tendza, Ntsweleba
			Mpangela, Mapela
Ama-Ndlovu	} Ngcongolo Dulana	Transkei	Tshetselangwana
& Mkonjisa			
Isikalo	Njokweni	Peddie	Mfene, Mhlwana
Ama-Jama	Magalisisa Xengxe	Transkei	Dlangati, Mbona
	Mdodana Lilo	Debe Nek	Mpetisane, Mbanjwa
	Menziwa	Tembuland	
Ama-Jama	Capt. Veldtman	Butterworth	
	Sibewu	Mdizeni, K. W. Town	
Shweme	Morosi	Basutoland	
Maputa	Ntontela	Gxala, Keiskama Hoek	
Tolo	Mtulu	Nqamakwe	
Miya	Jama	Keiskama Hoek	Dlamini Jili
Kuze		Transkei	Jaca, Duba
		Keiskama Hoek	
		Transkei	
		Transkei	
		Alice	

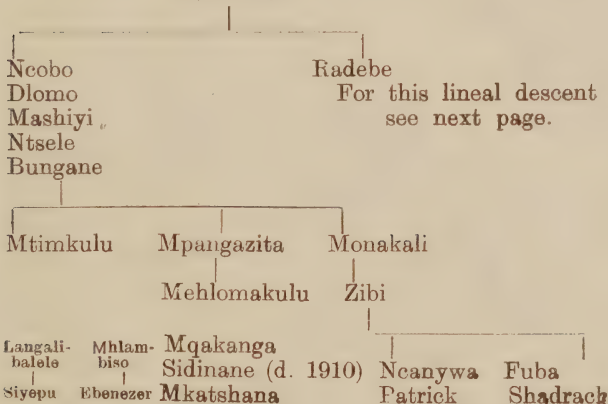
The following are the clans that are closely related to the Fingos: Ama-Baca, Aba Kwa-Kumalo, Ama-Xesibe, Ama-Ngwane, Ama-Zotsho, and the Aba-Tembu 'base Qudeni.

# Genealogical Tree of the Ancestry of Fingo Chiefs.



# The Genealogy of the Ama-Hlubi.

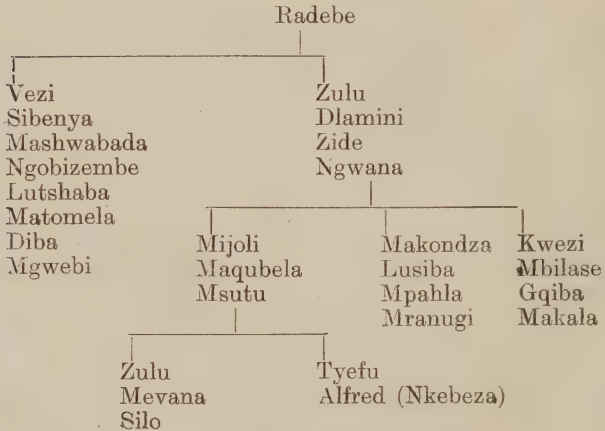
Diwu  
 Flatel'ilanga  
 Bele  
 Lufele lwenja  
 Sidwaba Senkomo  
 Mhuhu  
 Mhlanga  
 Msi  
 Masoka (Mzimkulu)  
 Ndlovu  
 Malunga  
 Dlamini  
 Mtimkulu



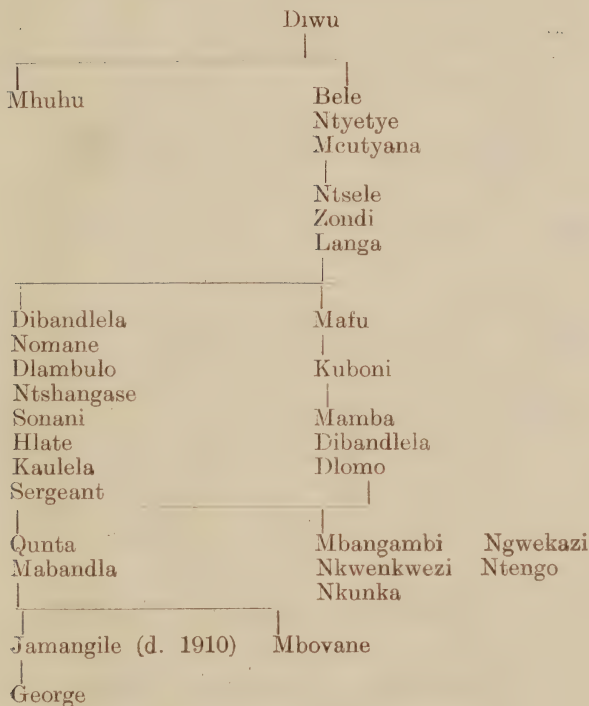


### Radebe

From him descends Kunene of Dlovu, Ama-R le-dwane and the Ama-Rawule.



## Genealogy of the Ama-Bhele.



**Amazizi**

Mtiti

Miya

Newabe

Goqolo

Dlangati

Ndlangisa

Ndzaba

Tendza

Masango

Ngubontse

Tolo

(Dlangamandla)

Mtiti

Dlamini

Shweme

(Limako)

Langa

Lamyeni

Ndlovu

Tenya

Jama

Tyanikuhle

Njokweni

Ngwangwini

Mhlanutshile

Xuza

Renqwa

Ntuli

Mtshibe

Mrawu

Malangeni

Njokweni

Mpehlo

Maxwanyana

Fundakubi

Msutu

Dabi

Liwani

Mhlanganiso

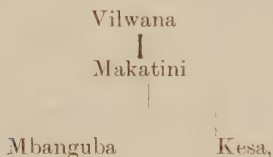
Jaji

Mongameli

### The Genealogy of the Aba-Nguni.

The Aba-Nguni bakwa Mcumane were originally Zulu Chiefs.

Mnguni's father is not known. His descendants are



who were subdued by Lucuncu the son of Lubhoko who occupied the lower parts of Godongwana's Country. They came from the Zulu Country. They came amongst the Amahlubi under Bungane and asked for service. They were received. Kesa's daughter was married to Bungane. The Ikazi was 100 head of cattle. It was this wife who was the mother of Mpangazita. The Aba-Nguni were scattered during the reign of Mtimkulu.

# Chiefs and Councillors in Peddie 1910.

## AMAZIZI TRIBE

Chiefs	Councillors.
Mongameli Njokweni	Simon Didishe
Chas. Kohli Njokweni	Moni Bonga
Nocinjwi Njokweni	Mdwayi
Pato Njokweni	Mxatule Soyeye
J Dabi Njokweni	W. Matiwane
Alexander M. Njokweni	
Adam Njokweni	
Mhlanganiso M. Njokweni	Mehlwabomvu Ntswane
Xala Msutu Njokweni	Honi Ntezo

## AMARELEDWANE TRIBE

Mgwebi Matom la	David Rumo Mlwandle
D. Diba Matomela	Saul Mankazana
	P. Ntingana

## AMAHLUBI TRIBE

Pakade Nyaniso	Thomas Mqanda
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## AMARAULE TRIBE

J. Mrwebo	S. Mtimka
D Mrwebo	

## AMABHELE TRIBE

John Ngwekazi	J. Marambana
Sergeant Kaulela	B. Bala

## ABASEKUNENE TRIBE

Alfred Msutu	P. Mranugi Mpahla
	Mark Mpahla
	Paul Belu
	Philip Ngcanga



**Chiefs and Headmen residing in the Herschel District  
during 1910.**

## CHIEFS

## CLAN

Joel Mehlomakulu	...	...	...	Hlubi
Ngesmani Mehlomakulu	...	...	...	"
Muki Hlomendlini	...	...	...	"
Sakakude Mehlomakulu	...	...	...	"
William Sipambo	...	...	...	"
Singebe Jokozela	...	...	...	"
Stephanus Mei	...	...	...	Bele
Jacob Mei	...	...	...	"
Absai Nombeu	...	...	...	Zizi
Diamond Ntoi	...	...	...	"
Nkolongwana Mbolekwa	...	...	...	"
Konko Mkuzangwe	...	...	...	Myemana
Mxokozeli Mkuzangwe	...	...	...	"

## HEADMEN

## CLAN

Zweni Koba	...	...	...	Tolo
Mangaliso Skisazana	...	...	...	Hlubi
Spika Mbobo	...	...	...	"
Tyaleni Bikizana	...	...	...	"
Klip Mrobongwana	...	...	...	"
Joe Makumsha	...	...	...	"
William Skit	...	...	...	"
Storom Zinga	...	...	...	"
William Mayisela	...	...	...	Bele
Tshabeni Mangwana	...	...	...	Swazi
Krohn Mvelase	...	...	...	Mlambo
John Ngendane	...	...	...	Msimanga

## APPENDIX

## THE GUINEA SUBSCRIBERS TO THE FINGO HISTORY FUND

Full Name	Occupation	Ancestral Name	District	Province
Bala, Edward	Teacher	Dlambulo	Butterworth	Cape
Bala, Solomon	Asst Clk & Interpreter	Dlambulo	mount Ayliff	do
Bikitsha, Veldtman	Councillor	Jama	Butterworth	do
Dlepu, Mehlomane	Headman	Goqolo	Butterworth	do
Dongo, J. Z.	Agriculturist	Dongo	Herschel	do
Kakaza, Gana	Minister	Jwara	willowvale	do
Kawa Richard. Tainton	Editor	Limako	Johannesburg	Transvaal
Gazi, John F.	Loco msnger	Nkomo	Uitenhage	Cape
Kawa, Charles Brownlee	mining lbr	Limako	Beaconsfield	do
Mabandla, George J.	Chief	Kuboni	Tsolo	do
Kutshwayo, James Henry	Interpreter	Radebe	Bathurst	do
Langa, Adam	Agriculturist	Mtimkulu	Kamastone Q T	do
Lusaseni, Pato S.	Teacher	Jama	Nqamakwe	do
Mabandla, Jamangile	Chief	Kuboni	Tsolo	do
Macutwana, Edward	Agriculturist	Kambule	Taungs, B'land	do
Makalima, Solomon S.	Evangelist	Zondi	Bulawayo	Rhodesia
Makumba Benjamin Philip	Interpreter	Radebe	Taungs, B'land	Cape
Malgas, Daniel	Clergyman	Mnguni	Fort Beaufort	do
Magitshima, Morris	Teacher	Mazibuko	Bedford	do
Mapikela, Thomas Mtobi	Carpenter & Builder	Radebe	Bloomfontein	Orange F.
Marawn, Isaac Fasi	Messenger	Radebe	Johannesburg	Transvaal
Matodlana, Nathaniel	minister	Radebe	Uitenhage	Cape
Matshilitshili, Nofanti Mrs	Agriculturist	Skosana	Nqamakwe,	do
Matunda, James L	Preacher	Xaba	Taungs, B'land	do
Mbanzi, Jeremiah	Labourer	Shugu	Cape Town	do
Mbeki, Jos. G.	Clerk D. C.	Nxasana	Tsomo	do
Mbelle, Archibald Simahla	Asst Clk & Interpreter	Ntshangase	Herschel	do
M'belle, Ezekiel	Headman & Deputy P. M.,	Ntshangase	Beaconsfield	do
M'belle, F. Mawuse (Mrs)	Housewife	mashiya	Beaconsfield	do
M'belle, H. Lephafa	Handicraft	Ntshangase	Lovedale, Alice	do
M'belle, Isaiah Budlwana	Intrpr Ntv Lgs Spm. Court	Ntshangase	Kimberley	do
M'belle, Leah (Mrs)	Laundress	msimanga	Albert	do
M'belle, Maria J. (Mrs)	Housewife	mokoena (Mongolaketse)	Kimberley	do
M'belle, Richard Gilbert	Clk & Intrpr.	Ntshangase	Kimberley	do
M'bongwe, John Silili	Intrpr O. R. C. High Court	Mvemnyama	Bloomfontein	Orange F
McLaren, James	Inspt of Schls	Clan Laurin	Butterworth	Cape
Mdala, Stephen	Messenger	Radebe	Bloomfontein	Orange F.
Mgidlana, Simon B.	Teacher	Radebe	Nqamakwe	Cape
Mkuzangwe, M. Manxeba	Chief	mtimkulu	Herschel	do
Mlamleli, silas	Pensioner	Nkala	Herschel	do
Mlokote, Josiah	Teacher	Sikalo	Tsomo	do
Mnqibisa, Jabez	Farmer	mkonjwa	Tsomo	do
Mqoboli, Elias John	Minister	Dlamini	East London	do
Mtwa, Job	P. constable	Dlangamandla	Bathurst	do
Mnyani, C. Ebenezer	Asst Clk & Interpreter	masango	Kentani	do
Mtiya Daka	Agriculturist	maduna	Oxton, Q'Town	do
Mtobi, Elizabeth (Mrs)	Housewife	mashiya	Kimberley	do
Mtobi, John	Minister	Radebe	Kimberley	do

Full Name	Occupation	Ancestral Name	District	Province
Mvambo, Solomon J.	Minister	Dlangamandla	wodehouse	Cape
Mzimba, Pambani J.	Minister	Radebe	Victoria East	do
Newana, Kali K.	Minister	Radebe	Herschel	do
Mzozoyana, J. Wilson	Agriculturist	Jama	Qache's Nek via Matatiele	Basutoland
Ndunge, Patrick Gasela	Clerk	mvemve	butterworth	Cape
Ngawe, Hockey	P. Constable	Kowane	Bathurst	do
Ngoma, Solomon Buzani	Agriculturist	Reledwane	Hackney, Q. T.	do
Ngono, John Peacock	Teacher	Mashiya	Selukwe Gwelo	Rhodesia
Njokweni, Saba	Police - Sergt	Dlamini	Germiston	Transvaal
Nqana, Simon	minister	mguni	Ladysmith, Klip River	Natal
Nqandela, Thomas G.	Interpreter	mgutyana	Tarkastad	Cape
Ntingana, James	Interpreter	Mguni	Steynsburg	do
Ntingana, Jane D. (Mrs)	Cook	Ntshangase	Steynsburg	do
Ntloko, James J.	Clk & Intptr	Madiba	St marks	do
Ntshoko, Alfred James	Shoemaker	mvulana	Kimberley	do
Ntshoko, Motankiso (Mrs)	Domestic Servant	Ntshangase	Albert	do
Ntsiko, Jonas	Interpreter	Dongo	Tsolo	do
Ntsiko, Samuel	minister	Dongo	Ndabeni C. T.	do
Nyovana, Arthur Gabriel	clergyman	Kuze	Dundee	Natal
Nyovane, E. Gazu	Deacon	Kuze	Umtata	do
Pahlana, Pahner Panama	Clk & Intptr	Xaba	Port Elizabeth	Cape
Pamla, Charles	Minister	Radebe	Umzimkulu	do
Plaatje, E. Libby [Mrs]	Housewife	Ntshangase	mafeking	do
Plaatje, S. Tsekisho	Editor	Ratsidi	mafeking	do
Radasi, John B.	Minister	Dlangamandla	Bulawayo	Rhodesia
Sepamla, Moses J	Shop Asst	Radebe	Herschel	Cape
Sidinane, Zibi	Chief	Radebe	Mount Fletcher	do
Sidzumo, Petros M. J.	Secretary	Jwara	Bakuena	Bechuana-land
Silwana, Stephen	Farmer	Hlongwana	Selukwe Gwelo	Rhodesia
Sishuba, Isaiah Gada	Minister	Mvu'emnyama	Queenstown	Cape
Sishuba, John Alfred	Teacher	mvemnyama	Kamastone Q T	do
Slater, John	Bl'smith & wg-maker	Lukalo	Herschel	do
Smith Rafutho, James	Evangelist	Dlamini	Peacousfield	do
Smouse, John Pampier	Crpt & Mason	Mokuenia	Tiger Kloof, Vryburg	do
Soyizwapi, Thomas A.	Teacher		Tsolo	do
Tsengiwe, Richard	Headman	dlambulo	Xalanga	do
Vumazonke, Samuel S	Schl-master	mveni	Vryburg	do
Xakekile, Josiah M	Police - Sergt	Radebe	Ndabeni, C. T.	do
Zidumbu, James	Farmer	Radebe	Bulawayo	Rhodesia
Zidumbu, Mavuso	Farmer	Radebe	Stutterheim	Cape
Zidumbu, Martha [Miss]	Schl mistress	Radebe	Bulawayo	Rhodesia











